Sociology and Social
. . . Research . . .
AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL

R.   v. 31   1946/47

●

SOCIAL CHANGE IN JAPAN

JESSE F. STEINER
University of Washington

● The downfall of Japanese militarism and the extensive program of national reconstruction now under way make this an appropriate time for an analysis of the process of social change in the Japanese nation. What has been the result of Japan's contact with foreign civilizations in the past? Do the Japanese adjust themselves easily to new situations, or do they cling tenaciously to old forms and customs? In view of Japan's past experience, have we reason to believe that within a comparatively short period of time our Army of Occupation can facilitate the changes that are essential for the peace and security of the Far East?

The progress made by Japan in utilizing the achievements of Western civilization has become an important illustration of rapid social change on a national scale. So remarkable was the transformation from a stagnant, feudalistic economy to a dynamic, powerful nation that it is customary to impute to the Japanese a tremendous capacity for imitation. The Japanese themselves, while fully aware of their debt to foreign contacts, resented the assumption that they were mere imitators and called attention to their ability to adapt and assimilate the new with the old. From their point of view, the capacity to integrate Occidental technology into an Oriental setting must be regarded as a unique achievement of an unusually capable nation. Proud of their accomplishments in the field of synthesis, their extensive borrowings from foreign sources gave them no feelings of inferiority. On the contrary, their less inhibited writers frequently stated that Japan was building a new civilization far superior to the patterns developed in the Western World.

To the student of social change, modern Japanese progress in westernization does not necessarily indicate the possession of an unusual capacity for either imitation or integration. The institutional changes that have taken place in Japan during the past three quarters of a century follow universal patterns that are inherent in the social process. In Japan, as elsewhere, there has been an inevitable adaptation of institutional forms to new ideas and situations. What needs careful study is the differential

rate of change in the various aspects of Japan's traditional civilization. Emphasis on progress in westernization must be balanced by attention to institutional forms which have stubbornly resisted the invasion of new ideas and methods.

Throughout most of Japan's history this process of change has gone forward so slowly that its advance can be measured only by the passing of the centuries. Two periods, however, stand out prominently as times of great institutional upheavals. The first occurred in about the sixth century when increasing contacts with China transformed Japan from loosely knit, semibarbarous clans to a centralized state with a written language and a culture modeled after Chinese patterns. The second also was an outgrowth of foreign influence—the impact of Western civilization which followed Japan's renunciation of its policy of isolation at the time of the Restoration in 1868.

The Sinicization of Japan during its first period of written history seems to have been extraordinarily complete. Chinese ideographs became the basis for Japan's written language. Chinese political forms provided the models for the foundation of the Japanese state. Chinese Buddhism grew rapidly in popular favor and immeasurably widened the religious outlook of the Japanese. Chinese pottery and paintings opened to the Japanese a new world of art forms which were diligently copied. Chinese classics were studied by Japanese scholars, and schools were established for the training of government officials.

Yet in spite of the dominance of things Chinese, Japan by no means became a replica of China. Chinese ideographs were supplemented by the invention of a Japanese syllabary. Shintoism was enriched by its contact with Buddhism but never lost its identity as a religion. As a matter of fact, Buddhism itself suffered such great modifications at the hands of the Japanese that it no longer reflected the basic doctrines of its founder. While the Japanese reorganized their government along Chinese administrative lines, they never took over the Chinese conception of an emperor who could be displaced by the people if he failed to rule wisely. The Chinese elevation of the scholar above the warrior was a point of view not acceptable to the Japanese. The Chinese method of choosing administrative officials from the ranks of scholars did not replace the Japanese insistence upon hereditary rights. Those who gained high positions in medieval Japan did everything possible to hand over their power to their descendants. The democratic elements in Chinese civilization failed to weaken the aristocratic traditions of the Japanese. The architecture of pagodas and temples was dominated by Chinese forms, but this influence did not extend to the dwellings of the Japanese people. Their living

arrangements and daily routine of life also remained peculiarly Japanese.
Both Japan and China shared the same general type of civilization, but
each retained distinctive features that have shown no tendency to blend.

Japan's adjustment to Western patterns since the beginning of the
Meiji era has been too recent to be fairly comparable to its long contact
with Chinese institutions. The Sinicization of Japan has been going on
for centuries, while its westernization is measured only by decades.
Nevertheless, from the point of view of the Japanese, the situations their
nation faced in both instances were essentially similar. In the sixth as
well as in the nineteenth century the invasion of foreign culture came
from nations whose attainments in civilization far excelled those of the
Japanese. The lower stage of development of Japanese institutions
made them vulnerable in the presence of superior foreign models.

Especially was this true during the modern period in the matter of
military equipment. Commodore Perry's demonstration of naval strength
at Kanagawa and the destructive power of the British fleet at Kagoshima
furnished the Japanese ample evidence of the obsolescence of their
weapons of defense. Confronted by the threat of foreign domination, the
Japanese leaders took their first steps toward westernization by securing
foreign armament. Here, in fact, is found an important key to an
understanding of the development of Japan into a modern nation. Their
study of Western science and technology, their building of modern indus-
tries, and their adoption of Western business methods and financial
systems were first of all motivated by the necessity of increasing their
military strength. Throughout recent decades, in so far as the govern-
ment could control institutional changes, the invasion of foreign ways and
ideas has been guided in directions that would advance national interests.

This controlled social change, made unusually effective by a highly
centralized, bureaucratic government, has been an important factor in
bringing about the peculiar intermingling of the old and the new, which
is one of the characteristics of modern Japan. The continued existence
of the handicraft system alongside large-scale manufacturing plants
equipped with up-to-date machinery; scientific laboratories and research
institutes supported by a government that required popular acceptance of
primitive mythology; poverty-stricken peasants using farm tools in vogue
a thousand years ago and eking out their precarious existence through the
wages of their daughters employed in modern textile mills; palatial office
buildings constructed according to Western architectural standards, while
the family dwellings of all except the most wealthy follow feudal lines
ill adapted for comfortable living; medical schools and hospitals well

equipped to fight against disease but handicapped by the slow progress of municipalities toward modern methods of sanitation; city streets congested with modern vehicular traffic but still lacking in sidewalks for the safety of pedestrians; schools, office buildings, and similar establishments equipped with Western styles of seating arrangements, while in homes there still prevails the traditional custom of sitting on the floor.

This far-from-complete list of paradoxes and inconsistencies in Japan's transition from a feudal to a modern nation is at least a partial outgrowth of the governmental policy of utilizing only those Western patterns that would contribute to national strength. Through government subsidies, propaganda, centralized educational system, press censorship, and police supervision, the mass of the people had little freedom to follow their own inclinations in choosing Western models. In fact, the government freely used its facilities to popularize the foreign customs it approved and gave the general public little opportunity to get fully acquainted with the customs it disapproved. During recent decades the government took an especially rigid stand against Western ideas that might undermine the politico-religious cult upon which their imperial system was built. In practice, this policy meant the utilization of the achievements of Western science and technology and the suppression of the Western concepts of individual freedom of thought and democratic action. Western techniques of mass production in industry were eagerly copied, but popular efforts in the direction of collective bargaining and social reform made little headway because of government opposition. The government placed a ban on the religious, moral, and philosophical bases of Western culture but gave the official stamp of approval to scientific methodology in its application to industry, military organization, and other lines of material progress.

These governmental efforts to guide social change had far-reaching results, but they were always subjected to the limiting influence of the economic situation. The extent of the natural resources of a nation and the prevailing standard of living of the mass of the people are important factors in determining the direction of institutional development. Long accustomed to an economic situation where poverty was ever a constant threat, the Japanese had throughout the centuries built up a way of life far less expensive than is required by Western standards. The nature and extent of the westernization of the Japanese people depended, therefore, in large measure upon their ability to meet the increased financial outlay.

Government subsidies and appropriations made possible the development of modern transportation and communication facilities and the

building of trading and financial corporations along Western lines. The wealth created by these innovations brought about the growth of industrial and commercial centers with their Western-type office buildings and large factories equipped with up-to-date machinery. But since the scale of living of the majority of the people did not rise very far above its traditional levels, Western styles of architecture, which had transformed the city centers, could not widely invade the residential districts. In general, the homes of the people, the household furnishings, and the food consumed followed long-established patterns, not as a result of official pressure, but because of economic limitations. More substantial and better-insulated houses, provided with Western facilities for cooking, heating, and sanitation, and a more nourishing diet involved financial expenditures far beyond the reach of all except the privileged few. The widespread westernization of living arrangements had to await changes in the economic system that would facilitate a wider distribution of wealth and give greater purchasing power to the people.

Among the higher economic classes, where financial limitations were less of a deterrent, considerable progress was made during recent decades in providing themselves with more modern living accommodations. It is significant that this modernization frequently is limited to a single room or a separate wing of the house instead of the entire building being constructed along Western architectural lines. The binding force of custom together with the aesthetic appreciation of traditional architectural forms usually brought about a compromise between the old and the new. Even where freedom of choice was not limited by economic or official restrictions, there seemed to be a strange reluctance to depart too widely from the traditional living arrangements that follow the same general pattern throughout the entire country. To such an extent is this true that in household routine and in dietary habits the gulf between the privileged classes and the common people is less wide than would be expected in a nation which so strongly emphasizes class distinctions.

While the restrictions imposed by economic limitations and by government policy determined in large measure the process of westernization, the desires and inclinations of the people could not entirely be suppressed as is apparent in the Western fads and fashions that from time to time gained wide acceptance. Especially can this be seen in the field of recreation, which by its very nature demands freedom of choice and expression. The traditional sports in Japan, such as fencing, archery, judo, and wrestling, have been more and more supplanted in popular interest by Western athletic sports and games. Baseball, football, rugby, soccer, tennis, swimming, rowing, and skiing grew rapidly in popularity during

recent decades. The team games of the West provided more attractive and exciting spectacles than did the individual contests of old Japan, and at the same time were more enjoyed by the players themselves. Baseball became the leading sport in Japanese universities and followed so completely its American prototype that many baseball terms were retained in their English forms. Until war clouds cast their heavy shadows over the nation, the annual games between rival Japanese universities aroused intense enthusiasm, and international contests made possible by visiting American teams attracted record-breaking crowds. In striking contrast, tennis, which became even more widespread throughout the country, was radically modified to meet Japanese needs. By using soft, uncovered rubber balls and loosely strung rackets, the cost of the game was brought within reach of the general public, and tennis courts became part of the equipment of public school playgrounds. But participation of the Japanese in international tennis tournaments was limited to members of the more expensive clubs in the large cities where Western equipment and rules had been fully adopted.

In the field of commercial amusements, popular demand also brought about the rapid growth of Western forms of entertainment. Moving pictures attracted increasingly large numbers of people. Especially popular were American and European films in spite of the handicaps of a foreign language and the strict censorship of government officials. The traditional dramatic entertainments that once were the center of attention in the urban world were more and more outmoded and lost much of their drawing power. The well-established geisha business declined slowly but surely during the past two decades. Young people preferred modern jazz to the koto and samisen. The stiff, formal dances of the geisha were giving way to the attractions of the taxi-dance hall. The hostesses in a modern cafe rivaled the geisha in personal appearance and witty conversation, and their entertainment was much less expensive. Before the outbreak of the recent war the younger generation in Japan had made it clear that they preferred Western commercial amusements and in the large cities had gone far toward establishing new ways of enjoying leisure.

Although economic limitations and popular inclinations and desires were sufficient in themselves to make absolute government control of social change impracticable, the unforeseen results of changes initiated by the government were constantly interfering with official efforts to direct the process of westernization. Compulsory education designed to build up a literate nation able to keep abreast of scientific progress throughout the world also opened the doors to knowledge of Western social science

with its tendency to undermine Japanese traditional foundations. The introduction of large factories with emphasis on mass production broke down the personal relations between master and apprentice and brought in conflicts between capital and labor and Western types of labor organizations. The building of large industrial and commercial cities necessitated a large rural-urban migration that weakened the patriarchal family and brought to the front new social problems. The change from a feudal economy to a capitalistic system gave new prestige and power to great financial corporations and brought in its train a widespread disintegration of old forms of mutual aid and cooperation that had once been the mainstay of community life. Wider facilities for the education of women gave impetus to the movement for their larger participation in local and national affairs as well as in business and professional activities.

The efforts of the government to select from the West only those aspects of its civilization that had official approval were doomed to failure because of the widely ramifying effects of the new ideas and techniques endorsed by governmental policy. Every step toward westernization set in motion new forces in ever-expanding circles. When Emperor Meiji at the beginning of the new regime issued his rescript announcing the intention of seeking knowledge throughout the world, he embarked on a policy that inevitably undermined the mythological foundations of the Japanese state. To a certain degree the official floodgates erected to control the influx of Western culture facilitated the entrance of technology and hampered the introduction of democratic concepts. But in the long run they could not accomplish their full purpose. The response of the Japanese people to contacts with Western civilization tended to follow well-established patterns of social change, which could be modified but not entirely controlled by governmental policies.

This experience of Japan in adjustment to foreign cultures in the past throws considerable light on the problems now confronting those who are seeking to demilitarize the nation and set up a more popular form of government. Accustomed as the Japanese have been to governmental control so widely extended as to hamper freedom of thought as well as of action, it is not surprising that they have shown great docility in adjusting themselves to defeat. Their prompt acceptance of the Emperor's decision to surrender has been duplicated by their efforts to carry out the most drastic orders of their conquerors. Such far-reaching changes as the abolition of State Shinto, the imperial renunciation of claims to divinity, dissolution of the zaibatsu holding companies as a first step toward the elimination of monopoly, abolition of their entire military organization including the secret police, granting freedom of the press and removal of

restrictions on political, civil, and religious liberties, giving the franchise to women, and important steps toward agrarian and social reforms represent a revolutionary break with the past.

While this extraordinary upheaval in their traditional institutions was brought about by humiliating subjection to foreign domination, the acceptance of these changes was facilitated as far as the common people were concerned by the fact that they destroyed the power of despotic military cliques and restricted the privileges of vested financial interests. The long-suppressed undercurrents of opposition to the bureaucratic government could at last come out boldly and give free expression to their policies. From the point of view of the lower economic classes, the opportunity to build up a more liberal government dulled the bitterness of defeat and did much to compensate for the temporary loss of national sovereignty. For this reason, so much popular support has been given to many of the reforms initiated by the Army of Occupation that they give promise of becoming too firmly established to be endangered by reactionary forces.

But the prompt obedience of the Japanese to Allied directives during the first year of defeat gives no assurance that the social and political reconstruction of Japan will take the precise form desired by the foreign powers. The experience of the Japanese in adapting and integrating foreign cultures in the past gives reason to believe that in this emergency they will endeavor to bring about the desired ends by putting new wine in old bottles. By incorporating new ideas and procedures into old institutional forms they will be following past precedents to which the people have long been accustomed. Even if they accept fully the spirit and purpose of democracy, the shape of the political institutions devised to attain this goal of popular government will be more acceptable if it disturbs as little as possible the traditional structures and old ceremonial forms. The role of the Allied powers should be limited to insistence upon a demilitarized, popular form of government with freedom to put into effect economic policies that will make possible a fully self-supporting nation. The detailed steps by which this is to be accomplished and the ultimate forms of the new institutional structures must be worked out by the Japanese themselves.

The process of westernization now going on in Japan is of unusual interest because the Japanese people have full opportunity to become acquainted with Western ideas and customs and have freedom of choice without government interference. But the trend toward the adoption of Western ways of life cannot proceed far without meeting the barrier of economic limitations. Very little change can be made in the direction of

improved housing, better sanitation, and a more adequate diet for the mass of the people until economic conditions make possible a very considerable advance in the general scale of living. In a very real sense the success of the Allied nations in the reconstruction of Japan depends fundamentally upon the development of economic policies that will remove the fear of chronic poverty. Here is the crux of the Japanese problem, which has been made more serious by the loss of their colonial possessions. A democratic form of government may ensure a more equitable distribution of existing wealth, but it cannot itself greatly increase the resources of the nation. An agriculturai economy supplemented by the production of other raw materials is insufficient to support Japan's overcrowded population. This can be accomplished adequately only by gradual restoration of industrialization and opportunity to participate in foreign trade. If the Japanese are permitted to build up an economic regime capable of giving adequate purchasing power to the mass of the people, there is reason to believe that the ideologies of the Western World as well as its technological inventions will eventually become vital parts of Japanese civilization.

MEASURABILITY OF SOCIAL INTERACTION

SAMUEL H. JAMESON
University of Oregon

● Social interaction, whether considered from the point of view of increasing social nearness or social distance, is complex in its manifestation. Mutual modifications of the interacting units show a wide range of variations. Each of the interacting units, whether persons or groups, has its own cultural universe in which it operates.

Arbitrariness of measurements. If social interactions are the product of stimulus and response phenomena among human beings living in a cultural milieu, can the intensity of the stimuli and the degrees of responses be measured? Science spells control and prediction. Neither control nor prediction is possible without ability to measure each and every factor entering into the responses of the interacting units. Can the intensity of the reaction of students in a classroom be measured? Can the intensity of a radio advertisement be measured? Until an affirmative answer is given to this question, social interaction can not be considered a scientific discipline.

In a situation where there is mutual agreement social nearness results, but when one of these units becomes annoyed the relationship changes to social distance. It is conceded that differences in the degrees of interaction exist, but can these differences be measured? How? These are the major questions. Fortunately, there is enough evidence to answer the first question in the affirmative. After all, measurements are arbitrary standards commonly accepted by the experimenter and the layman. There is nothing magical in a yard or a meter, in a gram or an ounce, in a mile or a kilometer, in a dollar or a franc. People accustomed to measuring data by these standards take them for granted no matter how arbitrarily these standards were set by a person or persons at a given time and in a given place. We use them as measuring sticks in order to demonstrate relative distances, weights, and monetary values. Every symphonic concert player knows that he has to get his pitch by sounding an A. How absolute, how reliable, how stationary is this A which has been taken as a standard in the production of harmonious or cacophonous musical strains? The tuning fork of Handel vibrated 845 a second. In 1813, the London Philharmonic Society tuned for its first concert from an oboe-sounded A set at 847 vibrations a second. By 1846, the same Society was playing Bach after tuning to an oboe A of 905 vibrations.

While the English were "experimental" or whimsical in pitch, the French composers in Paris forced the government to stabilize A at 870 vibrations, at 59° Fahrenheit! About a year or so ago, in the midst of the Second World War, the French Office of Art Creation charged that Russia, England, and the United States had permitted A to soar to 912 vibrations. In actuality, the standard pitch in the United States is 880 vibrations. The French, after making an international issue of this standardization of pitch, compromised with other countries, A vibrating at 880—ten vibrations more than its government allowed in 1859 and its classical composers were accustomed to. How arbitrary are the standards! What means of measurement can the student of social interaction use in order to ascertain social distance and nearness relationships? Are there any? And how can they be standardized?

Common sense measurements. Of course, people frequently speak of two persons' thoughts, feelings, reactions, or possible responses as being "worlds apart." What does this mean? Simply that there is a social distance between the two. If we take the illustration of parents and their children, it will be noticed that the adults think and act somewhat differently from the members of the younger generation. Yet every child and every parent realizes that there are innumerable variations in these reaction patterns. Some are denominated as extremely sympathetic, others mildly so, some emotionally cool, a few frigidly cold, and still others unsympathetic or antagonistic in every respect. These ordinarily used characterizations are measuring sticks. They are rough and sometimes misleading; nevertheless they are used in everyday life situations. Then, roughly speaking, there are certain fairly well defined but not too refined tools in describing social interactions. Whether these measurements refer to stimuli, sometimes called motives or factors, or to responses, known as overt behavior, they are measurable. They reveal certain degrees of intensity of social nearness and social distance.

Attempts toward objectivity. Whereas the measurability of the degrees of social interaction is conceded, no universally satisfactory systems of measurements have been devised. Several attempts by the psychologists and social psychologists to construct systems have been wanting in scientific validity. Thurstone's Attitude Tests Series,[1] Bogardus's Social Distance Tests[2] are mere beginnings. Burgess[3] and Vold[4] have gone a

---

[1] L. L. Thurstone and E. J. Chave, *The Measurement of Attitude* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929).

[2] Emory S. Bogardus, *Immigration and Race Attitudes* (New York: D. C. Heath & Company, 1928).

little farther into the field of behavior prediction after measuring the range of stimuli, and particularly the traits of the interacting units. The nationally and internationally known and much publicized Gallup Polls and the Public Opinion Research Bureau have added much to the measurability of social interactions.

From time immemorial "common sense" measurement techniques have been devised and used as expedients in the analysis of social interactions. The current "true-false" questions reveal the crudest form of measuring social data. In some academic institutions the teaching staff is "measured" by a rating scale ranging from "very high" to a "very low," with ten equidistant positions.[5] Five basic "qualities" of each instructor are thus measured separately. The same institution resorts to the two-fold (yes-no) rating scheme of the courses offered under eight different categories. The Young Men's Christian Association of Chicago[6] rates its secretarial applicants according to a five-point measuring stick. Nineteen traits in general are measured as "unusual," "great," "average," "little," and "none." "Striking," "good," "average," "unattractive," "poor," as to appearance; "excellent," "good," "average," "fair," "poor," as to emotional stability and poise; "very marked characteristic," "above average," "average," "not very," "holds aloof," as to friendliness. Many other variations within the five-point rating appear. Students requesting admission to the Department of Social Welfare, University of California, of course must give some references. Those who can speak authoritatively about the qualifications of the applicant are served a long set of questions, each one having a four-point measuring scale. Expressions like the following abound: "large output," "good or better than the average," "fair or below the average," "small output"; "excellent," "orderly," "lazy thinker," "unsound"; "highly cooperative," "reasonably cooperative," "fails to cooperate," "poor disposition"; etc. In selecting primary and secondary school teachers, one community[7] considers nine traits, ranging from "personal appearance" to "valuable experience," of paramount importance. These nine items are rated according to a scale of ten with a five-point major division: lowest (1), low (2, 3), average (4, 5, 6, 7), high (8, 9), and highest (10). In addition to this, however,

[3] A. A. Bruce, A. J. Harno, E. W. Burgess, and J. Landesco, *Parole and the Indeterminate Sentence* (Illinois State Board of Parole, 1928).

[4] George B. Vold, *Prediction Methods and Parole* (Hanover, N. H.: Sociological Press, 1931).

[5] See Antioch College, *Faculty Rating*, No. 1596.

[6] See their *Confidential Report*.

[7] Eugene Public Schools, Eugene, Oregon, *Teachers' Reference Blank*.

eleven other items, ranging from 0-10, serve as an additional measuring stick, such as: 0 . . . "I cannot recommend this applicant"; 1 . . . "I am in doubt as to whether this applicant should be recommended"; 4 . . . "I willingly recommend this applicant"; 9 . . . "I most heartily recommend and believe this applicant to be one of the best equipped of this year's teachers"; 10 . . . "I most heartily recommend this applicant for I have never had anyone whom I believe to be better equipped in every way." These and the intermediary statements not mentioned here are shadings in evaluation, variations in the assignment of status to the prospective applicant according to which the officers who select the teacher will pass judgment on the qualifications of the applicants.

Such fairly stereotyped measuring devices currently used in our culture are supplemented by the personal letters of recommendation. These, too, often become stereotyped; however, if the person writing the letter of recommendation is well known for his forthrightness, veracity, capacity to analyze the candidate, the value of his assignment of desirable or undersirable status is enhanced. The least that could be said of these letters of recommendation is that they are a means of measuring potential interactions.

That all the above schemes are crude, rough, almost always subjective, at times capricious, whimsical, biased, and distorting, inexact and unstandardized is readily admitted. Yet our social structure carries on its business on the basis of such arbitrary systems of measurement. Nevertheless, they demonstrate the possibility, even the probability, of more refined techniques for measuring social interactions. To date the available equipment is poor and in many respects the methodology is defective; for instance, the attitude revealed by the Thurstone Attitude Test on war and pacifism is not conclusive. It is one thing for an R.O.T.C. student to check a series of questions as an abstraction and thereby exhibit that he is an ardent patriot willing to join the army as soon as war is declared, and altogether another thing, when the real crisis comes and others are joining the army, for him to seek exemption from the draft on account of "dependents" or some other excuse. Likewise, it is easy to pose as a pacifist in time of peace, but when the war hysteria spreads and fills the air, the avowed pacifist of the questionnaire may be seen marching to the front shouldering a gun! Moreover, in Bogardus's test about race relations, one may advocate the exclusion of a Negro from his neighborhood in theory, but if he has enough land to sell to Negroes at an exorbitant price he may alter his notions of exclusion with the real prospect of getting rich quick. Or theoretically he may believe in the equality of the

human soul before God but close his church to people of black skin. It is because of such paradoxical behavior that more refined measurements of the intensity of stimuli and responses in a cultural milieu are of prime importance. These revolve around the analysis of attitudes and values according to which interactions take place in order to secure a desirable status or retain such a status after it has been acquired.

Directional behavior. In order to measure any datum there must be some starting point. In the preceding paragraphs it was intimated that measurements are arbitrary in origin, but, once they are accepted in current usage, they become standardized and almost rigid. Social interaction takes place in a cultural milieu in which every material object, every concept, every person, and every group becomes meaningful to man individually or collectively. This meaningfulness of cultural products is known as the realm of values. Values therefore incite people to action; they serve as stimuli. Because of their meaningfulness, values also enable people to reach out for objects, concepts, persons, and groups or to withdraw from them. Both the reaching out and the withdrawing tendencies are known as attitudes. As Thomas and Znaniecki define it, "an attitude is a tendency to act."[8] But a tendency to act is either toward an object or away from that object. The actor by assigning some meaning to the object either comes closer to it or else runs away from it. Hence, attitudes not only assume the existence of values but also imply a directional movement.

Human beings living in a culture milieu act on the basis of the meanings they attach to cultural data. Since no person lives in a vacuum, he appropriates automatically, and sometimes with conscious effort, the social values which surround him and develops attitudes toward them. Hence, an Eskimo's love of his kayak, a Russian's addiction to vodka, a Jew's faith in his Yahweh, an Englishman's fondness for afternoon tea, an American's defense of the Constitution and pride in George Washington. Culture and personal disposition acting jointly determine the direction of one's attitudes, or one's tendencies to act. That is the reason why so much effort has been invested in the so-called attitude tests in recent years. A Southern white's dislike of the Negro, the anti-Semitism of Nazi Germany, the persecution of the minorities in Turkey, the exploitation of the natives like chattels in South Africa are not only tendencies to act but actions based on the prevalent social values in these areas. Therefore, in the endeavor to gain or to retain a desirable status, the understanding of

---

8 W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1927).

values and attitudes becomes of utmost importance. Status itself is something meaningful. People avoid low status or the loss of status and strive to gain high or desirable status. And status is socially fixed; it exists always in a cultural milieu; therefore, culture gives direction to attitudes in terms of the accepted values.

Extremest degrees of interaction. Love and hate, respect and contempt, hope and fear, friendship and enmity, forgiveness and revenge are antitheses; they express movements in opposite directions. No matter how symbolic, heaven and hell describe extreme situations and, to some people, locations. Social discourse reveals a tendency to polarize human relationships.

For practical reasons, and following current usage, from the point of view of direction alone social interactions are divided into two extremes: cooperative and antagonistic. Like the two ends of a pole, although they are made of the same substance and in reality related to each other, they never meet. Our cultural world has become accustomed to the use of this antithetical language. Near and far, hot and cold, soft and hard, outside and inside describe dissimilar and opposite conditions, yet neither can be conceived of without the other. Moreover, the near and the far are arbitrarily fixed by the values entertained by the person who is attaching meaningfulness to objects scattered within the space. Yet neither its arbitrary determination nor its acceptance as an abstraction stops us from the use of such terms. Furthermore, between the so-called extremes of cold and heat, near and far, short and long there exist innumerable variations or gradations. Each one of these variations describes a distinct degree of temperature, distance, and length or duration. What is the extremest degree of heat? Who can tell? But when the thermometer soars to 95 degrees Fahrenheit in New York City, where people are accustomed to 70 degrees, sweltering men and women exclaim, "It's hot." Meanwhile, 100 degrees temperature on the same day in Needles, California, will be considered rather cool! Each locality, each group has its own value judgments, yet there is a point of temperature which the human body cannot stand, and that point may be taken as the extremest degree of heat for the human body. So far as human culture is concerned, according to International Critical Tables, the highest known temperature, artificially produced through carbon arc under pressure, is 5790 degrees centigrade. De Hass and Wiersma report .0044 C. above absolute zero as the lowest temperature reached in 1938. Unquestionably these are taken as the extremest degrees.

Applying this common principle to social interaction, it would be difficult to tell what the extremest degrees of interaction are. Yet undoubt-

edly we speak of the extreme degrees. If we move in the direction of nearness, the extreme degree of nearness is assimilation and the extreme degree of distance is isolation. Graphically presented, in its simplest form, it would look like this:

ASSIMILATION   ISOLATION

. . . . .N————————————D. . . . .

N and D represent the known extreme degrees of nearness and distance. The dotted lines in each direction refer to the extremest degrees of nearness and distance which still remain out of the range of our present experience. With new forms of social interactions these dotted lines may be reduced to a straight line and the position of N and D may be extended to the left and to the right.

According to our present knowledge, assimilation implies complete identification of the interacting units wherein the differences are eliminated and fusion takes place. This phenomenon is best manifested in the relationship of two intimate friends where one is willing to lay down his life for the other and where the concepts of "mine" and "thine" disappear and "ours" is substituted. In situations like this there is no status differentiation or discrimination; the status of one unit reveals and reflects the status of the other unit. Likewise, isolation is the extreme degree of social distance, which appears in sending one to "hell"—figuratively speaking—or in life imprisonment and capital punishment. Isolation of this type implies that the unit in question is not worthy to associate any longer with the rest of the members of the organized society. In the estimation of the controlling units of society it is the lowest degree of status. It is the acme of revealed antagonistic attitude; it is withdrawal from further direct, and, if possible, of indirect interaction.

The starting point. Certainly between assimilation and isolation there exist many gradations of relationships. If there are the extreme degrees of social nearness and social distance, where do we start from in order to determine whether we are moving toward (-nearness-) or getting away from (-distance-) an object, a concept, a person, or a group? This is a legitimate question. Directional movement implies a point of reference or a starting point. When the mercury in the thermometer rises or goes down, how do we tell whether it is going to be warmer or cooler? Is it not because of an arbitrary zero centigrade or 32 degree Fahrenheit accepted as a starting point which gives meaning to 95 degrees in New York and 100 degrees in Needles? Measurement is always relative to a point of reference. What is this point of reference in determining the degree of social interaction? Where shall it be located on the line? Answering the last question first, it may be said that the point of

reference may be placed anywhere on the line except where the extremes
are located. The movement can take place to the left, thus increasing
nearness, or to the right, adding to distance. Hence the location of the
starting point does not make much difference. So long as social inter-
action is manifested in the modification of the behavior of the interact-
ing units, particularly in the changing of their status, whenever more
distance is observed it is evident that the nearness is reduced, because the
movement is in the opposite direction, and vice versa. Supposing that
you are having a "blind date." The very fact that you have agreed to the
date is an indication of some nearness. But as soon as you meet your
partner and dislike her figure, her manner of speech, her overbearing
attitude, immediately the nearness with which you started changes into
distance. If you were predisposed to favor blondes, however, and your
blind date partner, in spite of the above shortcomings, happens to be a
golden-haired one, your starting point would be at a somewhat different
point—closer to nearness. In either situation there is a potentiality to
come nearer or get farther apart after the contact is made. The starting
point of each unit differs from that of other units; it differs even within
the same person from situation to situation.

The starting point is like a dot. It can move to the left or to the right
on a straight horizontal line or up and down a vertical line or move in
many directions within a circle. It is not a point of neutrality, nor is it a
point of indifference. Culturally controlled human behavior recognizes
no points of neutrality; we are either for or against something. Our
tendencies for or against may be very slight, yet they are for or against.
American mores predispose college students to blind dating; thus they
develop a favorable tendency toward. Students in the Orient frown
upon blind dating; they show an unfavorable tendency against. Both
exhibit a starting point, but neither point is indifferent or neutral to blind
dating. Neutrality and pure indifference is a fiction. Out of this non-
neutral starting point develop other degrees of interactions. The Oriental
student with a potential dislike for blind dating may emerge with the
prospect of matrimony, and the American student with his favorable
attitude toward blind dating may emerge with an unquenchable hatred
and vengeance! Thus the starting point is pregnant with possibilities of
nearness and distance. Many factors account for the final outcome.
Most of our accidental meetings with other units tell the same story.
One's cultural background and his organic make-up induce him to develop
nearnesses or increase distance in his interactions.*

---

*EDITOR'S NOTE: Although a series of explanatory charts were included in the
manuscript, on account of publishing difficulties it has been necessary to omit
them.

Human relationships in terms of attitudes toward values which express themselves in increasing degrees of social nearness or social distance must be ascertained. Consequently, we are concerned with the ascertainable degrees of social nearness and social distance.

Processes of social interaction. Approximately pure social nearness is evident in the complete identification of the two interacting units which was called assimilation above. Obviously, in the tendency to approach objects, concepts, persons, and groups with the prospect of greater understanding, intimacy, and fellow feeling, complete identification is not always realized. Often some gaps are bridged which relate to certain degrees of nearness. The same could be said for the increasing of the social distance relationships. Any concept of extreme degrees of social interaction implies the possible existence of low, limited, small, minute, moderate, middling, intermediary, and many infinitesimal variations. Between the starting point and the one extreme end of the pole there are indeed many gradations. Some of these gradations recur frequently and with great regularity; others occur less often. The recurrent ones are easily recognized; in fact, so common is their manifestation in daily life that people refer to them as specific forms of interaction. The apprehension, prosecution, conviction, imprisonment, and electrocution of criminals are indications of social distance. So are the meetings of a captain of industry and a traveling salesman, who, after the initial contact, take luncheon together, exchange invitations and introductions to relatives and friends, become partners in business and even lifelong friends. Each of these steps relates to a different degree of interaction.

Although neither pure social nearness nor pure social distance can be envisaged, except as hypotheses, their approximations are within the range of human experience.

There is no doubt that changes do take place in the relationships of the interacting units. All of these changes, however, are not of the same degree. Therefore, the cooperative and the antagonistic attitudes, which recur in specific forms so commonly, are taken as telling measuring sticks of interaction, each one revealing a particular range of degrees of human relationships within a cultural milieu which is charged and supercharged with status-gaining and status-maintaining devices. That is the reason why laymen as well as social scientists exhibit such a keen and unavoidable interest in the measurability of social interaction. To the extent that our measuring sticks are revealing, accurate, systematic, standardized, we shall have the assurance of describing, controlling, and predicting human relationships; otherwise, to speak in the name of social science is sheer charlatanism.

CULTURAL LAG
AND WORLD ORGANIZATION

JOHN ERIC NORDSKOG
The University of Southern California

• We are living in the early stages of the fourth great world-revolution in history.[1] While it is likely that the civilization in prospect will be known as an Atomic Age, a new social age will also be essential not only within nations but in world organization. An analysis of cultural history reveals that there are configurations of cultural growth and that most high-order productivity in the intellectual and aesthetic fields of culture is achieved in spasmodic bursts at intervals of several centuries.[2] There have been many of these lesser periods of change, the truly great world-revolutions becoming evident only when the entire history of civilization is taken into account. At each transitional phase, whether of major proportions or not, the cultural heritage provides a foundation for further cultural advancement and at the same time sets conservative limitations. In other words, there can be no greater change in institutional patterns in a society than the people are culturally prepared to accept, although man may have visionary hopes for a utopia.

When people have become accustomed to certain culture traits and patterns, they tend to resist change in them, especially when patterns have become institutionalized. History abounds with illustrations of resistance to change. While attitudes of hostility and obstruction toward developments in natural science and mechanical invention have almost disappeared, opposition to the modernization of social institutions and values is generally prevalent and is significant in connection with the present world-wide revolution.[3] Almost every one wants the new gadgets that

[1] See Harry Elmer Barnes, *Social Institutions in an Era of World Upheaval* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1942), Ch. 3, for discussion of the three previous major transitions in culture. The first took place slowly between 6000 B.C. and 3500 B.C., the second between 300 and 600 A.D., the third between 1500 and 1800.

[2] The most significant study of the relation of configurations to cultural change is that of A. L. Kroeber, *Configurations of Culture Growth* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1944).

[3] For one of the most challenging analyses of this revolution, see Harold J. Laski, *Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time* (New York: The Viking Press, 1943). In *Faith, Reason and Civilization* (The Viking Press, 1944), Laski adds to his historical analysis of factors in the revolution. Barnes' *Social Institutions* is timely and refreshing on this subject. Lewis Mumford in *Technics and Civilization* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1934) and in several later works, including *Values for Survival* (Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1946) has consistently exposed the problems of the age. Edward Hallett Carr in *Conditions of Peace* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943) shows how important it is that we turn our backs on 19th-century ideas and face the reconstruction of civilization.

are rapidly being invented—new machinery, new methods of transpor-
tation, new housing, and the untold future of atomic energy—though far
too many remain content with the social philosophy of oxcart days.[4]

The archaic qualities of our social institutions and values are apparent
with startling realism in connection with problems of postwar reconstruc-
tion, in the fears associated with the implementation of the Charter of
the United Nations, in continued rejection of federal world organization
after the failure of the League of Nations, in the present condition of so-
called international law, and particularly in the revolutionary implica-
tions of atomic power. Since our opinions and institutions are over-
whelmingly the product of contributions from the prescientific era, the
observation by Harry Elmer Barnes that "Modern civilization is a vener-
able parasite unintelligently exploiting the products of contemporary
science and technology" appears to be entirely appropriate.[5]

Since the basic theme of this article is cultural lag, it may prove helpful
to digress for a moment and include Professor William F. Ogburn's
definition of the concept. While stating his hypothesis of lag, Ogburn
says:

The thesis is that the various parts of modern culture are not changing at the
same rate, some parts are changing much more rapidly than others; and that since
there is a correlation and interdependence of parts, a rapid change in one part of
our culture requires readjustments through other changes in the various correlated
parts of culture. For instance, industry and education are correlated, hence a
change in industry makes adjustments necessary through changes in the education-
al system. Industry and education are two variables, and if the change in industry
occurs first and the adjustment through education follows, industry may be
referred to as the independent variable and education as the dependent variable.
Where one part of culture changes first, through some discovery or invention, and
occasions changes in some part of culture dependent upon it, there frequently is a
delay in the changes occasioned in the dependent part of culture. The extent of
this lag will vary according to the nature of the cultural material, but may exist
for a considerable number of years, during which time there may be said to be a
maladjustment. It is desirable to reduce the period of maladjustment, to make the
cultural adjustment as quickly as possible.[6]

It is comparatively easy to apply the principle of cultural lag, as stated
above, to conditions within a community, even a national community. It

---

[4] Note the Copernican and Ptolemaic contrasts for industrial and social develop-
ment respectively in Emery Reves, *The Anatomy of Peace* (New York: Harper &
Brothers, 1945), Ch. I.

[5] Barnes, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

[6] W. F. Ogburn, *Social Change* (New York: B. W. Huebsch, Inc., 1922),
pp. 200-01. Various criticisms of the hypothesis cannot be dealt with here, though
some of them go to the extent of denying that there is such a thing as cultural lag.
Some writers with a statistical bias insist that lag, if real, must be measurable
according to some arbitrary yardstick or other. The present writer prefers to
regard the hypothesis in terms of common sense and is content to use the concept
for its meaning in social philosophy.

is equally applicable, in every particular to relations between nations and the development of world organization. Ogburn's discussion of cultural inertia and conservatism[7] is also fully applicable to problems of postwar reconstruction and world organization. Several reasons for cultural lag mentioned by Ogburn have been summarized by Newell L. Sims:

(1) Scarcity of invention in the adaptive culture; (2) mechanical obstacles to adaptive change, such as the educational difficulties of altering social habits; (3) the heterogeneity of society, with conflicting class interests which hinder the enactment of laws; (4) the lack of close contact between portions of the adaptive culture with some parts of the non-adaptive non-material culture; and (6) group valuations which afford strong emotional support to mores and institutions to resist change.[8]

It would be possible to take each step in Professor Ogburn's development of the hypothesis of cultural lag, inertia, conservatism, and other reasons for lag, and translate the application of each point to world problems, though that is not the plan or purpose of the writer. Instead, a number of obstacles to the development of world organization or to essential reconstruction for peace will be submitted with the understanding that cultural lag is considered a factor.

Among prevalent fallacies are the views that peace is simply something that comes after war, that it comes as a result of goodness and some kind of moral elevation, and that it can be brought about by the signing of treaties. The geographical and legal methods applied to the building of the last "peace" were based on fallacious ideas of balance-of-power systems, self-determination, the sovereign equality of nations, outmoded concepts of international law, and other notions which had served their purpose during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but had definitely become useless before the crisis of World War I. Yet the same archaic principles are finding expression again after World War II in order to perpetuate certain historic advantages of dominant nations. A casual reading of the Atlantic Charter will reveal its indebtedness to Wilson's Fourteen Points, but it is more important that the Charter of the United Nations, like the former Covenant of the League of Nations, is heavily freighted with concepts and methods representative of philosophy and practice in the eighteenth century or even earlier. The prospect is that

---

[7] Ogburn, *op. cit.*, pp. 145-96.
[8] *The Problem of Social Change* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1939), p. 294, with ref. to pp. 256-65 in Ogburn, *op. cit.* Note in Sims, *passim*, criticisms of the concept, cultural lag, by several other authors.

the faults and limitations of the Charter will have to be side-stepped and
transcended in order to formulate a workable peace. It should be remem-
bered that the Charter, like any other political instrument, is not an end
in itself but a means to an end. The Charter can succeed only to the
degree that it provides for social change.

Totalitarian warfare has effectively branded the principle of power
politics as irrational. It has also proved that what has passed for interna-
tional law in an age of "sovereign" nation-states has become equally ir-
rational. Power politics and international law have been traditional and
static. There are contemporary writers who claim justification for the
view that the present system of international law actually is law,[9] though
numerous others, who have broken with tradition, show unmistakably
that there never has been a system of law to which nations have been
liable and that the development of genuine international law in the fed-
eral sense is practically the *sine qua non* of world organization for peace.[10]
It is time to realize that treaties do not make or preserve peace. Treaties
made today are merely agreements between sovereigns or between nation-
states which regard themselves as sovereign, there being no higher law to
provide for sanctions against either party to a treaty.

International law needs to become realistic, functional, and progressive.
It must provide a means for necessary change, which is an essential func-
tion of law. Only a few writers have pointed out that international law
can no longer afford to disregard the findings of sociology and other social
sciences. In its present condition, the discipline of international relations
has not advanced as far as contemporary political science, although the
responsibility for arranging peace terms lies principally in the hands of
international lawyers.

Education has long served as an instrument of national policy, the
influences of aggressive nationalism having thus been widely disseminated.
As a reaction to World War I, there was some measure of success in
making people doubt the value of war (more particularly in England,
France, and Germany than in the United States in so far as educational
leadership is concerned), though the movement failed to make the people
willing to pay the costs of peace. Since both peace and war are com-

---

9 An exponent of this view is J. L. Brierly in a recent book, *The Outlook for
International Law* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1944). His respect for tradition
is essentially British. Brierly admits, however, that world organization would
serve as an opportunity for advancement in international law, though the process
will be gradual.

10 See Emery Reves, *op. cit.*, Part II, especially Ch. 9. In the latest symposium
on postwar reconstruction, *If Men Want Peace,* ed. by Harrison, Mander, and
Engle (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1946). Ch. 4 on the international
law of the future is contributed by Professor Charles E. Martin. Popular books on
peace by M. J. Adler, Herbert Hoover and Hugh Gibson, R. M. MacIver, and
others represent progressive views concerning international law.

patible with human nature, education can influence the molding of human nature in either direction.[11]   Education is the basic process by which to reorient culture for the emphasis of values of peace instead of war.   To the degree that education fails to provide for reorientation, there is cultural lag.   Until educators and educational systems are free from the controls exercised by industrial and political pressure groups, changes in education will continue to be slow.

With reference to ethnological problems, race enters into political and social questions as a social rather than as a biological phenomenon. Among prevalent fallacies are the views that dark-skinned peoples are biologically unable to govern themselves, that miscegenation results in physical degeneration, and that racial antipathies are biologically rooted. Another common prejudice is that cultural differences are due to racial inequalities.[12]   More significant for the present study is the fact that racial fallacies have been deliberately cultivated as a basis for discrimination among groups, the result being that minority groups continue to be mistreated and exploited in many countries.   Although in modern times discrimination seems to have been most acute under the Nazi regime, there is need for proper education on racial questions in the United States and in countries that have imperialistic interests in other areas of the world.   Exploitation and the "white man's burden" or Asiatic versions of such rationalizations are incompatible with world organization for peace, though racial heterogeneity is not.

Economic causes of war and economic aspects of reconstruction have been discussed often and thoroughly in many journals and books,[13] so

---

11 Lewis Mumford, *Values for Survival,* Book II, pp. 133-239, is worth noting, and the chapter on "Education for War and Peace," pp. 167-86 is especially challenging.
12 Such fallacies are given their proper discount in *New Perspectives on Peace,* ed. by George B. de Huszar (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1944). See Ch. 4, on the ethnological problem, contributed by Robert Redfield.   See another symposium, *The Science of Man in the World Crisis,* ed. by Ralph Linton (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), for the latest scientific views on race, racial psychology, and specialized studies of cultural change.
13 Consult L. L. Bernard, *War and Its Causes* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1944), Ch. 15; Quincy Wright, *A Study of War* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1942), *passim,* but in Vol. I note Ch. 11, in Vol. II note Chs. 18 and 32.   Historical perspective is stressed in *War as a Social Institution,* ed. by Jesse D. Clarkson and Thomas C. Cochran (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941).   For views of the writer, see John Eric Nordskog, "Peace as a Revolutionary Ideal," *Sociology and Social Research,* Vol. 30, No. 1, 1945; "The Economic Foundations of an Ordered World," *World Affairs Interpreter,* Vol. 15, No. 3, 1944, and "International Labor and the Peace Plan," *World Affairs Interpreter,* Vol. 16, No. 2, 1945.   On the cartel problem, see Ervin Hexner *International Cartels* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1945).   Several symposia on reconstruction emphasize economic problems.   Very good is Henry P. Jordan (ed.), *Problems of Post-War Reconstruction* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1942).

that specific evaluation is not necessary at this time. It should be pointed out, however, that economic nationalism, imperialism, the *lebensraum* concept, forms of corporate enterprise and cartels, economic ideologies, and other elements in the economic organization of the West have roots in the institutions and philosophy of an earlier period. *Laissez faire* and mercantilism have left their traces even to this day in conflicts of interest in the economic world.[14]   Economic causes of war are among the most forceful, but fallacies have arisen in this field too. The causal connections between differences in national standards of living and war have been overemphasized, and the warlike aggressiveness of various countries has been too readily attributed to low standards of living. More significant is the misinterpretation of the influence of, or conflicts between, current ideologies—capitalism, socialism, communism, fascism, Nazism, and nationalism. All these are blends of economic and political institutions and philosophies with long histories.

The roots of capitalism go back to the twelfth century, when the merchant class definitely emerged with the rise of towns and cities in Medieval Europe. The rise of liberalism, *laissez faire,* mercantilism, the emergence of the nation and eventually the nation-state, are phases of economic and political changes closely interrelated and in perpetual conflict. Adam Smith and Karl Marx present, in their works, syntheses of the trends of their day. For the philosophical background of Fascism and Nazism, one must go back at least to the time of Martin Luther.[15] Throughout this process of change in economic life and thought *versus* established political institutions, those who believed in old ideas and benefited from them were strongly on the defensive—as is the case now. New ideas, whether economic or political, gain foothold only after sustained struggle, resistance against change in the political means for cultural transition being especially significant as lag. Cultural lag is evident in

14 For a superior study of mercantilism, see Eli Filip Heckscher, *Mercantilism,* 2 vols. (London: G. Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1935). Cf. Charles W. Cole, *French Mercantilism, 1683-1700* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), and Philip W. Buck, *The Politics of Mercantilism* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1942).

15 William M. McGovern, in *From Luther to Hitler* (New York: Houghton-Mifflin Co., 1941), traces absolutism, traditionalism, idealism, irrationalism, social-Darwinism in fascism and Nazism. Also see Rohan D'O. Butler, *The Roots of National Socialism* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1942) and Guiseppe Antonio Borgese, *Goliath: The March of Fascism* (New York: The Viking Press, 1938). Excellent studies of ideologies significant in current reform movements are available in *Twentieth Century Political Thought,* ed. by Joseph S. Roucek (New York: Philosophical Library, 1946).

the present-day application of the principles of liberalism, *laissez faire,* mercantilism, natural rights,[16] nationalism, and so on.

In a number of particulars, the architects of peace plans have failed to give sufficient attention to certain values or principles taught in elementary sociology. Although there is coherence in a society, there is a lack of coherence in a league of societies (nations), which is a basic weakness of both the former League of Nations and of the United Nations Organization. The fact that geographical groups tend to evolve into larger units, the relative size of population and man-land ratio constantly changing in all countries, would indicate the futility of the geographical approach to peace. Any political power system devised would soon be outdated. While it is clear that mechanical invention and applied science promote change, it should be no less significant that technology may cause a shift of power from one nation to another and thus upset any equilibrium attained in a system of power politics.[17] Tradition and the continuity of the historical process have value for stabilization, but they also serve as powerful resistants to change. The planners of peace must have been aware of such incentives as wealth, prestige, and power, though their attempts to maintain comparatively static relationships in favor of certain nations do not indicate an awareness of how ruthless such motives can be. Unless the plans for peace, including the Charter of the United Nations, provide for a reorientation of culture, there is a denial of the great hopes of the masses of mankind. Yet such hopes have culminated in religions, ideologies, and revolutionary change in the past, and may in time find expression in desirable peaceful organization.[18]

Several authors have pointed out that ideologies for centralized or nationalized planning end with the same result—virtually a totalitarian

---

[16] Laurence Stapleton, *Justice and World Society* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1944), discusses the need for rephrasing the theory of natural rights in terms of world organization for universal justice. Emil Brunner, *Justice and the Social Order* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1945), traces justice to its sources in classical thought and in the Judaeo-Christian tradition. After criticizing the dissolution of justice in modern rationalistic movements, Brunner discusses, from a theological approach, justice in the political, economic, and international orders.

[17] See Robert Strausz-Hupe, *The Balance of Tomorrow* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1945) for a geopolitical study of the power politics of the future. He shows what changes in population to expect by 1970 for leading countries, the relation of population and resources to power. Cf. *The Geography of the Peace,* by N. J. Spykman (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1944). G. I. Burch and Elmer Pendell's, *Population Roads to Peace or War* (Washington, D.C.: Population Reference Bureau, 1945), is challenging. Also consult *The Science of Man in the World Crisis* for section by Karl Sax; Warren S. Thompson, *Population and Peace in the Pacific* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1946).

[18] See chapter by W. F. Ogburn in *New Perspectives on Peace.*

or fascist state.[19] The dominant role of nationalism in other ideologies—
capitalism, socialism, and communism—as a factor in the present revolu-
tion has not been fully appreciated until lately. Associated as it has been
with patriotism, the function of nationalism has appeared quite harmless
and desirable as an aspect of national policy. Now it is becoming increas-
ingly evident that the basic struggle in the world is between industrialism
and nationalism.[20] It is significant that centralized, bureaucratic, and
totalitarian regimes came into power in Russia, Italy, and Germany, no
matter what ideologies were professed in these countries in the beginning.
Other countries which resorted to dictatorship since World War I—
some of them considered as democratic and capitalistic—could be enumer-
ated to show that the trend is not only European but American and
Asiatic. It has become clear that both capitalism and communism pro-
vide a means to nationalism and the nation-state which is so incompatible
with world organization.[21]

Several recent historical studies[22] have provided perspective for the
growth of nationalism from ancient times to the present. They are con-
sistent in pointing out transitions in the meaning and function of nation-
alism as related to revolutionary changes in culture. Three of the later
phases, discussed by Edward Hallett Carr,[23] are deemed sufficient for the
present purpose. With reference to the first phase, which began with the
dissolution of medieval unity of empire and church and the establishment
of the national state and the national church, the essential characteristic
was the identification of the nation with the person of the sovereign. The
second period, from the time of the Napoleonic Wars to 1914, was char-
acterized by a process of democratization, the identification of "nation"
and "people," and the notion that nationalism was essentially political

[19] Compare Edward H. Carr, *Conditions of Peace,* and Robert A. Brady,
Business as a System of Power (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943)
with Fredrich A. Hayek, *The Road to Serfdom* (Chicago: The University of
Chicago Press, 1944) and Emery Reves, *The Anatomy of Peace.*

[20] This view taken by Reves, *op. cit.,* pp. 100-01, is supported by the findings of
Carr, Hayek, Brady, and other students of economic and political trends. Cf.
footnote 19 for references.

[21] Cf. Reves, *op. cit.,* p. 70. Note his remarks on capitalism, p. 48; on Marxist
interpretation, p. 64; on communism, p. 70.

[22] Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism* (New York: The Macmillan Com-
pany, 1945) traces nationalism from ancient Israel and Hellas to the eve of the
French Revolution. *Nationalism,* A Report by a Study Group of Members of the
Royal Institute of International Affairs (London: Oxford University Press, 1939),
presents not only the historical rise of nationalism in Europe, America, and Asia
but also its economic and political significance in contemporary affairs. Edward
Hallett Carr, *Nationalism and After* (New York: The Macmillan Company,
1945), is particularly useful.

[23] Evaluation of these three phases is the feature of Part I in *Nationalism and
After.*

rather than economic. During the third period, Carr shows that "three factors—the socialization of the nation, the nationalization of economic policy and the geographic extension of nationalism—have combined to produce the characteristic totalitarian symptoms of the present period."[24] The decline of nationalism in the political sense and the ascendancy of its economic functions should be stressed. Whatever the functions of nationalism in either phase—whether applied between personal sovereigns, between nations, or, as now, between nation-states—the principle has been and is incompatible with world organization.

What bearing has the atomic bomb or the peaceful use of atomic power on the data presented above and on cultural change generally?[25] In his Message to Congress on October 3, 1945, President Truman stated that: "In international relations as in domestic affairs, the release of atomic energy constitutes a new force too revolutionary to consider in the framework of old ideas." Unfortunately, mankind has nothing with which to face imminent revolutionary changes except a stock of old ideas, though, as has been suggested above, new perspectives contributed by the social sciences are available for those who would be willing to consider and use them. The Charter of the United Nations does make possible an approach toward the control of atomic energy, in Articles 10, 11, 22, and 29. The question resolves itself to one of two choices: either to continue the excessive worship of precedent, although it is known that the institutions and philosophy of the past have in some respects become irrational, or to hasten a reorientation of culture in harmony with the kind of world organization which has become necessary. So great would be the transformation that it would deserve to be called the fourth world-revolution—and it is already under way. A revolutionary epoch is a wonderful time in which to live, provided we know what to do with it.

---

24 Carr, *Nationalism and After*, p. 26. He goes on to say that the combination of these factors has found expression in two world wars, or two installments of the same world war, in a single generation.

25 The problem of atomic energy is presented in a symposium, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Philadelphia, 1946. Also see *One World or None*, ed. by Dexter Masters and Katharine Way (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1946).

ADJUSTMENT PROBLEMS OF
AMERICAN YOUTH IN MILITARY SERVICE

MARTIN BICKHAM

Chairman, Illinois Inter-Racial Commission, Chicago

● During the last decade total war has appeared as a disruptor of certain processes of personality formation. Youth caught in these processes of total war in training camps and battle zones is faced with new and puzzling problems of personality adjustment that are significant to youth and to the future of American life.[1]

The adjustment problems herein suggested are a reflection of the processes of personality formation within the military milieu. They are derived from an analysis of interviews and field notes taken over five years or more that visits were being made to camps and maneuver areas, guardhouses, brigs, rest centers, and hospitals. At least ten specific types of adjustment problems loom up significantly in the experience of American youth passing through these channels of military service.

1. Adjustment problems arising around movement from the home atmosphere to barracks life.

The sudden change from home to barracks life is very puzzling and defeative for many men. The quietness and privacy experienced by most of them in their homes is changed overnight to the noise and openness of the barracks, where life proceeds with usually anywhere from fifty to a hundred other men with many different cultural backgrounds and personal habits of cleanliness in body and speech. The sense of security and of belonging that most men have felt in their homes and family circles is undermined. Each must now stand on his own feet and make his own way and position in the group. Though in a crowd, he stands alone.

Out of this experience, homesickness in varied degrees appears. The chaplains' offices often have a constant stream of men seeking counsel, not knowing quite what is wrong with them but seeking some guidance in the midst of their loneliness and homesickness. These early failures to adjust to barracks life may set the stage for later more serious adjustment problems.

2. Adjustment problems arising around the change from dining table to mess hall.

---

[1] See M. H. Bickham, "The Emergence of a New Morale," *Religious Education,* March-April, 1945.

The relation of food to morale in the armed forces is known to most military officers, but few realize the reactions of men who have been accustomed to some refinement in dining habits. When they have to leave all that and get their food in the rush and hurry and clatter of the "chow line," many men are so hard hit by these changes that they scarcely get enough to eat.

In one camp I invited a lad of about twenty years to take dinner with me at a hotel in the near-by city. He had been in service about four months. I remember vividly his expressions of appreciation of the clean linen and the service, and his remark that this was the first time he had seen a clean tablecloth in the four months he had been in service.

Many men not only have difficulty in adjusting to the "chow line" and mess kit but are faced with the necessity of altering their food habits. Fortunately, the heavy outdoor exercise and training sharpens appetites and so enables men to adjust to Army mess or Navy chow and so reduces the "grousing" and adjustment difficulties that arise around the quality and kind of food served.

3. Adjustment problems arising from moving from school or civilian occupation to military tasks.

The military services have made extensive use here of scientific ways of adjusting men to military occupations. But, nevertheless, even brief contacts in most camps will turn up numbers of men who are facing adjustment problems because they feel that they are in "Army dead ends" and serving as cooks or mess attendants when they were trained for teaching or office work. If, as happens frequently with Negro youth, the usual occupational maladjustments are complicated by surreptitious or open segregation policies, the occupational adjustment problems may imperil morale.

But in camps where scientific methods of selection were in use and men went through tests and felt that some consideration was being given to their background and training and experience in assigning them to military duties and outfits, the occupational adjustment problems were definitely reduced. If in addition wise commanders introduced estimates of personality traits and some recognition of the expressed interests of the men, this kind of adjustment problem was reduced in frequency and seriousness.

However, the just application of scientific selection processes for millions of men in the armed services was a tremendous task, and the exigencies of war required expedition and even haste at times. Men must be ready for combat whether in the right military niche or not. So adjustment problems stemming from military assignments involved many

millions of men and constitute both in the military services and in return
to civilian status one of the most serious and far-reaching effects of the
years of total war.

4. Adjustment problems arising from the transition from the relative
freedom of civilian life to the discipline of military control.

Very early in my visits to training camps, contacts with men in the
post guardhouses, camp stockades, and Navy brigs opened up avenues to
the appreciation of the adjustment problems arising from this phase of the
experience of our American youth in the military services. It became
increasingly clear that there was a basic conflict of control policies be-
tween our military services and our civilian communities. Our youth, as
they moved from the relative freedom of initiative and action to which
they were accustomed in civilian life to the stern and immediate military
control in the armed services, were plunged deeply into serious problems
of adjustment. Many, perhaps the majority, did adjust and submitted
their lives to military discipline and control for the sake of the ultimate
ends of achieving freedom in our world and time. Thus millions of our
youth have been more or less habituated to the techniques of military
control and attitudes of submission to military authority.

But to many others these long-run objectives did not appeal. They
resented military forms of control and rebelled against them in various
ways, some subtle and surreptitious, others more open and subject to
military penalties. This is one large reason why our guardhouses and
brigs filled up so early and remained so well filled all through the years
of war. We now see the end results in the numerous and large Army
and Navy disciplinary barracks that still carry a considerable population
of young Americans, many of whose chief faults do not involve crimes
against our social order but rebellion against a system of military control
that cut across all their inherited and culturally shaped conceptions of
freedom, personal initiative, and independent action. The results of
these adjustment problems to military service promise to be serious in
many ways in the postwar period.

5. Adjustment problems arising from the release of men from the
military camps to near-by communities on pass or temporary leave.

Military commanders in the camps early realized that American men
kept too long under the tensions of camp life "went sour." The "grous-
ing" became so persistent as to undermine morale, so "pass" and "leave"
policies were liberalized and the men given permission to visit near-by
communities for a few hours or a couple of days. Here new adjustment
problems appeared. They arose in part from the sudden psychological
reaction to the new social milieu. It was a "strange" community, with

none of the limitations that existed in the home community. Here one was a stranger in a strange land. If one could evade the military police, any escapades were possible. So drinking bouts and visits to bawdy houses offered experiences that met the approval of most of your "buddies" and the nonmoral atmosphere of the barracks and military life. So millions of men on leave or pass had to learn new adjustments to the varied social milieus of the camp communities, since few men remained long in one camp but moved across the country from camp to camp, from town to town, from rural villages to ports of embarkation, and even to "native" communities in the islands or "enemy" communities in the battle zones and occupation areas. Thus the adjustment problems arising in these "release" periods were constantly changing with the social milieus into which the soldier or sailor was released. It is certain that these problems of adjustment will leave many deposits in experience and character that will have meaning to the future of American communities.

6. Adjustment problems of a more permanent nature arising in one phase of these "release" experiences.

Men sought compensation for loss of the home and family fellowship. They did not endure homesickness and loneliness when substitutes were available. They sought the companionship of women in the camp communities. These might be simple, passing flirtations or more involved attachments often ending in "quickie" marriages as the men came to call them. Then when the men and units moved the young women involved would trail along from camp community to camp community. These war marriages were very numerous both in this country and in other lands where our men were housed and trained for any length of time. How many will endure and how many will end in divorce courts remains to be seen. But the sex and marriage adjustments thus entered into promise to be a continuing social influence in American communities for many moons to come.

The six types of problems already discussed arise in the surface adjustments of American youth to the different atmosphere and tempo to military service and the interrelations that this rapidly changing experience sets up with elements of the civilian population. The four adjustment problems about to be presented arise in the deeper experiences with the moral and spiritual phases of total war. They involve the formation and operation of conscience and the shaping of character and the effects upon spiritual experience.

7. Adjustment problems arising from the attempt to control the sex urges within the military services.

For most men, especially recruits and trainees, military service involves separation from their women associates. Thus they are face to face with what is essentially a male society. Whatever the civilian forms of sex experience sublimations or satisfactions may have been, this new male society poses new problems of adjustment in the control of the sex urges both for the men and for the military command.

The latter adopted a policy of information and education. The sex movies became a feature of every camp. The doctor and the chaplain supplemented with scientific and moral lectures required of all personnel. For many these educational processes were useful. For others they proved to be stimulants to sex expression. They overemphasized and fixed attention upon sex and had little or no sublimation value.[2] Thus they whetted the sex urges as men were released on pass or leave to camp communities where women companions could be found. The military services tried to meet the danger this policy produced by prophylactic precautions to keep men out of the sick bays and hospitals and avoid loss of time in training or in the battle zones. The outcomes of these policies are yet to be realized in American communities. It is this writer's conviction that these educative and prophylactic policies did little to reduce the adjustment problems arising from the sex urges under the conditions existing in military training camps and camp communities.

8. Adjustment problems arising from the loosening of the respect for property that occurs under the conditions of war.

To achieve the ends of total war, resist the enemy and utterly destroy his forces, involves the loosening of many of the social bonds built up in men over many centuries. Among others, regard for property is weakened. This appears early in barracks life and on the firing ranges. "Take what you need to accomplish your military task'" seems to be the guiding thought.

Something of the result of this appeared in the experience of the Army in France shortly after D-E Day when Army materials disappeared into the French black market in large quantities and hundreds of American officers and men were rounded up and arrested for stealing and disposing of government materials. The American Army prison in Paris is still crowded with men who faced adjustment problems arising from the loosening of the respect for property usually present in our civilian communities.

9. Adjustment problems arising from military attitudes toward regard for human life.

---

[2] The author has treated this subject in a paper not yet published, "Total War and American Character."

Over the thousands of years since "The Dawn of Conscience," as Professor James H. Breasted called it, mankind has developed a "conscience" against killing other human beings. Under the impact of total war this conscience against killing has been weakened. When the recruit comes into the military atmosphere where he is taught to kill, he may react vigorously and refuse to let the "state" shape his conscience. Here we find the belated conscientious objector. He refuses to go through his bayonet training or bombing run, so he lands in the guardhouse, or the "nut house" as the soldiers call it. But others reason the matter out and let the state take the responsibility for the killing, whether by bayonet or bomb. But it is certain that the processes of total war weaken the Christian conscience[3] and set up many acute adjustment problems for American youth.

10. Problems of adjustment arising from spiritual experience.

Most American youths enter military service with some religious experience and spiritual aspirations. The conflicts of conscience that arise around sex and property and regard for human life spoken of above raise serious problems in their spiritual loyalties.[4] This may become an important factor in morale and produce marked influences on character.

In others spiritual demoralization may appear that will carry over into later civilian life. In many spiritual struggle is made more acute. In a recent article, "Spiritual Struggle in Soldier Experience,"[5] these problems of spiritual adjustment were summarized as follows:

Spiritual struggle arises from three aspects of this new and strange experience:

1. There is a sharp separation from the usual and normal forms of spiritual nurture. The home, church school, and the church are left behind. Parents, pastor, and spiritually minded friends are not at hand to give counsel and spiritual guidance.

2. The home environment, which for most men had in it some form of spiritual encouragement, is replaced by the nonspiritual atmosphere of the barracks and camp. Men in the bunks near-by may be openly hostile to spiritual practices of prayer and Scripture reading. The maintenance of such personal spiritual habits within this atmosphere becomes very difficult.

3. In this social atmosphere these youth now come face to face with the purposes and intensive processes of military training. They must

---

[3] M. H. Bickham, "Total War and the Christian Conscience," *Character and Citizenship,* September, 1945.

[4] M. H. Bickham, "The Emergence of a New Morale," *Religious Education,* March-April, 1945.

[5] See *The Methodist Layman,* April, 1943.

assimilate in their spiritual natures the "defeat and extermination of the
enemy." They must learn the techniques of killing by bombs and big guns,
by rifles, machine guns, and bayonets. Here for many real spiritual
dilemmas arise and the spiritual struggle becomes acute.

Summary. These adjustment problems arise in certain stages of the
rapid movement through military services mentioned above. The prob-
lem of adjustment is personal and meaningful in the development of each
personality under the pressures of total war. But the resulting changes
in personality are meaningful not only to the youth who undergoes them
but to American society as a whole. It may be that the mass of these
personality changes induced by the pressures of war will appear as a
deficit or a skewness in the pattern of American life as we move into the
future. It is highly important, therefore, that we should seek now to
evaluate them and find their true relation to the future life of the nation.

These personality adjustment problems pressed hard and fast on Ameri-
can youth under the conditions of life in military service. Even surface
observation reveals many dissatisfactions and maladjustments. The work
and reports of psychiatrists point to depressions, chronic tensions, acute
frustrations, and emotional instabilities. The evidence is cumulative in
support of the thesis advanced. The problems of personality adjustment
in military service are frequent and are influential in inducing personality
changes in American youth.

These glimpses into some of the more pressing problems of adjustment
faced by American youth as they pass through the various phases of par-
ticipation in our armed services show how important it is to provide wise
and helpful counsel to returning veterans. These men have passed
through the processes of war and bear its marks in various degrees upon
their personalities. America owes them much and especially counsel that
will help them readjust to the tempo and spirit of American civilian life.

SOCIOLOGY AND GENERAL SEMANTICS

EDWARD JOSEPH SHOBEN, JR.
Graduate Student
The University of Southern California

• The literature of general semantics has become quite voluminous since 1933, when Alfred Korzybski published his *Science and Sanity,* and the applications of Korzybski's methodology have been many and diversified. Apparently, however, no sociologist has yet attempted to test the formulations of general semantics on the affectively charged social data with which he is concerned in the pursuance of his special discipline. Since the aim of Korzybski and his followers has been to generalize and to make explicit the techniques of thinking that have been so fruitful in the physical sciences, this oversight on the part of sociologists seems to be worth mentioning.

In this paper an attempt will be made to apply the principles of general semantics to two fields of social research, race relations and propaganda. The choice of these fields rather than others is arbitrary, but three criteria have been used in selecting them: (1) their obvious social importance, (2) their abundant data, and (3) the fact that they are fields in which symbolic activity is important.

In his discussion of stereotypes, Walter Lippmann long ago pointed out that "For the most part we do not first see, and then define, we define first and then see." Elaborating this, he says:

> In untrained observation we pick recognizable signs out of the environment. The signs stand for ideas, and these ideas we fill out with our stock of images. We do not so much see this man and that sunset; rather we notice that one thing is a man or sunset, and then see chiefly what our mind is already full of on those subjects.[1]

This tendency to build up stereotypes and base one's responses on them is one of the characteristics of men upon which the propagandist trades. With it he is able to establish associations between certain attitudes and certain verbal stimuli, chiefly class-words such as brand names or words standing for whole national or ethnic groups. Thus, the advertiser tries to establish automatic connections between aspirin-Bayer's, smoking satisfaction-Chesterfields, security-Metropolitan Life Insurance; the political propagandist works on such linkages as enemies-Jews, Russia-"Reds," labor-strikers, treachery-Japanese, Negro-stupidity, and many more. Once these conditioned associations have been formed, all that is neces-

---

[1] Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1922), p. 82.

sary is to present trade names or labels and the desired response comes automatically without any consideration of the peculiar features of the objective materials for which the labels stand. Thus, one does not compare the policies of Metropolitan Life and some other company; feeling a need for insurance and sufficiently indoctrinated by the advertising, one reaches automatically for Metropolitan's offerings. One is not concerned with the objective differences—if any—between Bayer's and somebody else's aspirin; one automatically buys Bayer's. One is not concerned with the vast differences among those several million individuals subsumed under the verbal heading of Japanese; one automatically damns them wholesale on the basis of his association between a word and an affective attitude.

Such behavior on the part of consumers, potential voters, and other groups to whom propagandists direct their wares has obviously much in common with what Dr. William Alanson White has called "clang associations" in the mentally ill. White cites the case of a manic patient who, asked how he slept the night before, replied, "I have slept excellently; that is because I am of such a strong constitution. The constitution of the United States was signed by Thomas Jefferson. He was just a man, but he was not the inventor, I am."[2] The parallel is evident between this free-flowing associational process of the psychotic and the automatic associational processes hoped for by the propagandists who spend thousands of dollars on such slogans as "Don't say aspirin. Say Bayer's," or cartoons depicting a small group of obviously criminally insane men labeled "New Dealers" putting sticks of dynamite under a magnificent building labeled "The American Way."

General semantics provides a general way of evaluating these symbolic stimuli to which the propagandist hopes to tie strongly held attitudes. The first tenet of general semantics is that symbols are not and can not be things, that is, nonverbal life-facts; consequently, they are not to be reacted to as things. Second, no matter how accurately symbols are used, they are always abstractions from nonverbal objects and can only be progressively more imperfect representations of nonverbal phenomena. In the physical sciences, for example, generalizations are evaluated according to the rigorousness of their logical connections with statements in the protocols of controlled experiments; in other words, generalizations in physics or chemistry are judged on how tightly related they are to purely descriptive statements about nonverbal processes. Thus, the high-order verbalizations of science are kept anchored to the events and relations of

2 William Alanson White, *Outlines of Psychiatry* (Washington: Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Company, 1935), pp. 100-01.

the external, nonverbal world, reflecting the awareness of the need for caution in working with symbols in scientific procedure.

The propagandist, of course, works in almost the opposite direction. His chief aim is to build up conditioned responses to symbols so that by presenting the symbols he can control attitudes and, consequently, behavior. To do this, it is necessary for him to sever all connections between his verbalizations and those that would appear in the descriptive protocols that might be written concerning the nonverbal facts involved. Thus, the statement, "Don't say aspirin. Say Bayer's," has little logical relationship with such descriptive statements as a chemist might make about aspirin, which is simply a chemical compound that can be made in only one way and that will produce the same physiological effects in a given human being whether it is manufactured in the laboratories of this drug company or that.

By making explicit the implications of the abstraction process—the gulf between the verbal and the nonverbal worlds, the need for structural similarity between verbal constructs and those external phenomena to which they are supposed to be related, and the function of language as a tool by which nonverbal events may be brought into order—general semantics militates against the formation of stereotypes and the building up of those "clang associations" upon which the propagandist depends. In so doing, it affords a general approach to propaganda based on cultivated critical attitudes and delayed reactions rather than on automatic associations with symbols. In short, general semantics is an explicit method for learning to see first and then define, rather than the unfortunate reverse, which Lippmann has so ably documented.

The implications of all this for the study of race relations and that particular form of conflict which takes the form of race prejudice are reasonably clear. The magnitude of the problem, however, is even more appalling than that of propaganda.

S. I. Hayakawa cites a representatively shocking case.

At a reception I once attended, I saw a tall, young American woman with light brown hair, peaches-and-cream complexion, obviously "Nordic," being introduced as "Mrs. Sakamoto." Her husband was Japanese. The gentleman to whom she was being introduced, an "educated" man, a Doctor of Philosophy, no less, apparently heard the name, but wasn't sure he could repeat it. "I'm sorry," he said. "Will you please say your name over slowly for me? I find your names extremely difficult. *I suppose you find our names difficult too? My name is Harrison.*" [italics in original] In other words, the unfamiliar sound of "Mrs. Sakamoto" and his instantaneous identification of the name as "Japanese" completely determined his reaction.[3]

[3] S. I. Hayakawa, "Race and Words," *Common Sense*, 12:231, July, 1943.

This sort of thing seems largely based on the implicit assumption that if certain phenomena—including people—have a name in common, then they must possess some essential attribute in common. This is, of course, what MacIver, echoing Lippmann, has in mind when he speaks of "group images." He says,

We carry in our heads images of other groups, and we bring those images into all our relationships . . . These images . . . are misshapen images, misconceived. . . . Everywhere these pictures and these misapprehensions are distorting our social relations . . . We do not see the person . . . we see the type, and we never get down to reality.[4]

In other words, we do not inquire into life-facts; on the basis of labels applied to individuals whom we do not see, we make evaluations and decide upon action. What are some of the things leading to such practices?

In the first place, there is the confusion of word and thing, of symbol and object. People in possession of a label for some external phenomenon tend to feel they know something about the phenomenon; witness the person who feels he knows something about a flower when he knows its name.

Secondly, there is a wholesale ignoring of differences. Classification is essentially a process of leaving out details, abstracting from unique items only those characteristics that they have in common. Thus, similarities are stressed rather than differences. As Korzybski has pointed out, however,

. . . on the objective level . . . we . . . find that whatever we can see, handle, etc., represents an absolute individual, and different from anything else in this world. We discover, thus, an important structural fact of the external world; namely, that in it, everything we can see, touch, etc. . . . represents absolute individuals, different from everything else.[5]

In label-determined reactions and evaluations, however, all members of a group, their individual uniqueness disregarded, are herded together as if they were identical. The word *Negro* is supposed to be a sufficient key in itself by which to know the exact "nature" of all those to whom it is applied. In actuality there is no typical Negro; there is only black man$_1$, black man$_2$, black man$_3$, . . . black man$n$, each of whom is significantly different from all others. A person who reacts to the individual black man$_1$, then, on the basis of the group image that is supposed to cover com-

4 R. M. MacIver, "Group Images and Group Realities," in *Group Relations and Group Antagonisms*, ed. by R. M. MacIver (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944), pp. 4-5.
5 Alfred Korzybski, *Science and Sanity* (Lancaster: The Science Press, 1933), p. 262.

pletely all Negroes, is bound to be the victim of misevaluation and consequent unfairness.

Subjecting these theoretical points to empirical test, Irving Lee trained in the principles of general semantics fourteen undergraduates whose strongly held racial prejudices had been registered in interviews and on the Bogardus Social Distance Scale. After sixty hours of training spread over a four-month period, Lee reports:

The resulting shifts in response, as shown in their willingness to work with those of the "out group," to participate in campaigns of social work, to re-examine their stands on other issues, is almost "too good" to reveal . . . And from all available indications their new reactions promise not to be temporary.[6]

Thus, general semantics is in a favorable position to help alleviate tensions resulting from racial conflicts and prejudices, because most of these tensions are the results of social-psychological processes, the effects of which are largely dependent upon the degree of semantic integration[7] characterizing the individuals whom they affect. As an educational tool designed to increase one's general objectivity and discriminatory powers, general semantics, through such concepts as (1) consciousness of abstraction, (2) map-territory relationships between language and nonverbal life-facts, (3) identification and predication as traps to effective thinking, and (4) dating and indexing, is of both theoretical and practical value to the sociologist in dealing with the phenomena associated with race relations.

It would seem safe to conclude, then, that general semantics has considerable and direct bearing on the sociological data just considered. Can anything be said generally of the relationship between sociology and general semantics?

First, it may be stated that general semantics is chiefly a general evaluational method which aims at making explicit the ways in which symbolic behavior functions and its implications for human living at the cultural level. It is an attempt, in Hayakawa's phrase, to revaluate "the encrusted verbalizations and abstractions, the dogmas and creeds that envelop most of us like layers of barnacles."[8] Perhaps its chief contributions are its

---

[6] Irving Lee, "A Mechanism of Conflict and Prejudice," *Papers from the Second American Congress on General Semantics,* ed. by M. Kendig (Chicago: Institute of General Semantics, 1943), p. 26.

[7] The term *semantic integration* is here used to designate an organization of the personality that reveals itself in such traits as objectivity, a capacity to bear tension, open-mindedness, responsibility, and independence. It is not suggested that only students of general semantics are semantically well integrated. In accord with the principles of general semantics, interest here is centered on personality organization at the objective level, not on the terms that are used to refer to it.

[8] S. I. Hayakawa, "General Semantics, an Introductory Lecture," *Etc.: A Review of General Semantics,* 2:169, Spring, 1945.

underscoring of the split between the verbal and nonverbal worlds—its emphasis on the simple but too frequently ignored dictum that the symbol is not and cannot be the object—and its analysis of the abstraction process, showing that verbalizations are abstractions and to be accurate must proceed from the nonverbal life-facts themselves to the descriptive and inferential levels of linguistic usage. Thus, attention is constantly brought back to life-facts simply because the ultimate meaning of the symbols by which men communicate is to be found in nonverbal realities.

The implication of all this for social research generally seems not far to seek. General semantics focuses attention sharply on the phenomenon of communication as basic to all social processes, thus defining a special and crucial field for sociological investigation, the results of which may throw considerable light into some of the darker recesses of social interaction as it occurs on the cultural level. Likewise, general semantics, concerned primarily with symbolic behavior and symbol-object relationships, provides at least a starting point for the more thoroughgoing examination of the cultural nature of man. It has been pointed out on many occasions that his capacity for tool- and symbol-using is the characteristic that permits man to live culturally,[9] but until recently there have been no techniques for inquiring into the functioning and malfunctioning of man's symbolic activity. Finally, general semantics may accelerate the growth of sociology into truly scientific status by making explicit the applicability of an inductive scientific method to social data.

---

[9] See, for example, Clarence Marsh Case, "Tools and Culture," *Essays in Social Values* (Los Angeles: The University of Southern California Press, 1944), pp. 72-84, and Leslie A. White, "The Symbol: Origin and Basis of Human Behavior," *Philosophy of Science*, 8:451-63, October, 1940.

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF RELIGION

R. LOFTON HUDSON
Old Hickory, Tennessee

● The term *religion* includes a wide variety of human behavior patterns. Among primitive religions the help of gods was sought for everything from building a hut to stealing a horse. The Christian seeks the moral ideals of love, justice, and mercy, but these ideals are not exclusive Christian property. Some religions emphasize the mystical desire for communion with a god or gods; others seek peace, assurance, and moral strength in one way or another. In some eternal happiness in heaven is the distinctive purpose of religion; in others such an end is either wholly absent or subservient to a search for the good, the true, and the beautiful. There seems to be little agreement among psychologists concerning exactly what is meant by religion. Historically, however, it may be observed that various groups have socially inherited a set of ideas, traditions, and attitudes that is called religious. These may be thought of as the furniture of religion. Religious experience itself, of course, has both an individual and a group aspect. The most profitable way to conceive of it, however, is in terms of the group patterns, assuming that these reflect the individual experiences.

Since religion is such a varied kind of experience and arises from such a complex social and psychological mechanism, how shall we define it? An adequate definition must take into consideration the social context of religious behavior. It is not simply a subjective experience. Religion consists in a group of values, the symbols for these values, and some institutional expression of them. In other words, religion consists of judgments, an interpretation of these judgments in the form of creeds, and group behavior in achieving and perpetuating these judgments or values. If one wished to, he could consider this merely the restatement of the traditional threefold classification of religion as emotional, reasoning, and volitional activity, but the present statement is more descriptive. The definition of religion as values, symbols, and institutions suggests a premise that should be insisted on, namely, that religious behavior is the result of a learning process, itself made possible by the nature of the individual and of his environment. In this respect religion does not differ from other forms of activity such as business, family life, education, recreation, and the like. All of these are learned activities based on innate

tendencies. We need not attempt to classify or name these innate
tendencies, as the instinct theorists have done; rather, we need to show
what values are particularly the objects of religion, the nature of religious
symbols, and the function of various types of religious institutions.

The "field of religious experience"[1] is not different from that of other
areas of human activity; that is, art, science, home, building, industry, and
courtship all have to take into consideration the aspects of reality which
concern religion. All alike deal with the hard facts of human and physi-
cal nature. But attention is selective and controlled by attitudes. The
scientific attitude looks upon nature from the standpoint of analysis and
classification. The world becomes water, fire, air, earth, wood, stone,
metal; or oxygen, hydrogen, chlorine, aluminum, copper, sulphur, and so
on. The artistic attitude sees the world as units of interesting and unique
objects. The business world thinks of raw materials for the satisfaction
of consumer demands. Courtship might behold in every brook a lover's
fanciful murmur and in every star a symbol of lasting affection. What
then are the particular judgments that the religious attitude requires of
man? What aspects of reality does he attend to?

It would be misleading to assume that each individual by autonomous
selection forms certain judgmental conceptions that satisfy his religious
needs. The truth is, a child is born into a culture that already has a
system of ideas and judgments which it hands down to him. These
become what the social scientist calls "a frame of reference." A frame of
reference is a group of associated ideas to which one refers when a new
situation arises. For example, a study of the nation-wide Halloween
broadcast of Mr. H. G. Wells' "War of the Worlds," which frightened
at least 1,000,000 Americans in 1938, revealed that two thirds of the
people who tuned in after the program started believed they were listen-
ing to a news broadcast. Here was a situation, an invasion from a planet,
never before encountered by these people. Those who were upset had no
general frame of reference to which they could orient themselves. There-
fore they uncritically accepted a standard of judgment which proved to be
false and led to some extremely harrowing experiences.[2] Every person
acquires such frames of reference or judgments by which he faces life's
situations. The intensity of a frame will depend upon its relation to some
vital need of the individual. If a person believes vaguely that God con-
trols every force of nature, he may be more or less unaware of the belief

---

[1] John Macmurray, *The Structure of Religious Experience* (New Haven: Yale
University Press, 1936, Ch. 1).

[2] Cf. Hadley Cantril, *The Invasion from Mars* (Princeton: Princeton University
Press, 1940).

until some catastrophe confronts him; then he examines the details of his cluster of ideas. He may hold to a frame of reference without ever examining the basis for it. Most Christians, Mohammedans, Buddhists, and Confucianists have never examined the assumptions on which the various religions rest and compared them with one another. If asked to defend their beliefs most of them would concoct some reason for their opinions—this is called rationalization—and continue to accept the values that underlie them. A person may even establish a consistent framework, usually larger, and give his attitudes some "reasonable" basis. But, in any case, a frame of reference is a system of ideas based on value judgments which more or less, depending on their vitality, control the behavior of human beings. Sometimes these are held almost unconsciously. Sometimes they are entirely derived. The individual may convert them into a larger frame, or smaller, which will in turn affect his behavior.

It is well for us to inquire at this point into the kind of situations that call into use and perpetuate religious frames of reference. In other words, what part of the field of common experience evokes religious behavior and requires that we impose our evaluation on it? Evaluation is the result of selection, or one might say that it is selection. Those who see religion as the result of the dependence on a father in childhood will naturally place great emphasis on the projection (as they would say) of the Father-God symbol. Those who see religion as a fantastic escape from fear will emphasize the elements of security. Similarly, the Freudians, who emphasize the frustration or conflict, may give importance to utopian places of eternal living. A more realistic approach seems to be that of studying the psychology of the child as he comes to self-consciousness and begins to seek meaning in life. It is well known that the human mind is a problem-solving machine. Consciousness arises in a crisis and functions best when the flow of life's processes is disturbed. It is then that we seek to see a thing, an event, or a situation in a certain relation, to note how it operates or functions, what consequences follow from it, what causes it, and what uses it can be put to.[3]

The Gestalt psychologists have emphasized the importance of meaning in human behavior. Their experiments illustrate the kind of response that figures so frequently in the religious quest, as well as in other human behavior. When a situation of particular significance to the individual arises, he seeks to understand it. It may be something that involves his social status; his ego, such as a threat to his sense of importance; a threat to his personal safety, such as a strange noise near him in the dark; or the problem of how to make a successful public address. In any of these

---

[3] John Dewey, *How We Think* (Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1910), p. 137.

cases there is a state of tension, of dissatisfaction, until some solution is reached. In other words, the desire for meaning arises when some derived drive is not satisfied. Defeated candidates ask why they lost; a salesman who loses the sale asks where he failed; and the mother, who has carefully fed and cared for the child, asks why the child had to die. If the candidate, the salesman, and the mother were "toughminded" enough not to persist in their quest for understanding, there would be no statecraft, no sales "tips," no philosophy, no theology. The desire for meaning is fundamental to human as well as to some animal learning. Or one might say that desires and wishes, the satisfaction of which require meaning, serve as the basis of all learning.

What are the facts that call for the meaning religion gives? Any roster of such puzzling facts and necessary adjustments would be merely suggestive, not inclusive of all; but here are a few. Every man is faced with the frustrations consequent to thwartings by social custom, his own weakness and follies, the brutalities of nature, the ravages of disease, the imminence of disaster from physical catastrophe (accident, storms, earthquakes, and the like), death, unrequited love, etc. Here we are in a very complex world. What are we to make of the world? Of what value are we? Of what value are others? How did we get here (the mystery of origins)? Where do we go from here, if anywhere? What is worth striving for? How shall we treat our fellow creatures? Jung says, "How often have I heard a patient exclaim: 'If only I knew that my life had some meaning and purpose, then there would be no silly story about my nerves.' "[4] The theory or intellectual interpretation of religion grows out of some attack upon the frame of reference, some conflict or frustration, which requires the reinterpretation of religious ideas. But this is a small part of what is denoted by *meaning*. For example, a man achieves meaning for his life when he accepts the underlying premise of Christianity and Judaism that "God is love." This is a belief that could hardly be, in the usual sense of the term, proved. Religion consists to a great extent of these unprovable assumptions, such as "divine providence," "forgiveness of sins," "efficacy of prayer," "resurrection of the dead," etc. The relation of these to the needs that arise in human life is evident. The question of their validity is beside the point.

In summary, it may be said that religion consists of "frames of reference" that are transmitted by each culture from one generation to another and that these become effective in the individual experience as he faces the

---

[4] C. G. Jung, *Modern Man in Search of a Soul* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1939), p. 224.

adjustment to his environment, including his own nature and desires. These "frames of reference" may be socially desirable or they may be socially objectionable. That they differ from culture to culture is well known. It is also true that even within a culture the religious ideas and practices change. One thing, however, is universal: individuals and groups continue to make judgments that we call "religious" and devise modes of expression that serve as a framework for certain phases of their existence. When these modes of behavior cannot be classified as political, artistic, scientific, practical, or recreational, they are called religious. Often the religious behavior is so closely related to some other field of experience that a distinction is impossible. The writer admits the difficulty and submits the foregoing interpretations as tentative concepts of religion, its genesis, and its development.

WAR AND THE STATUS
OF FILIPINO IMMIGRANTS

R. T. FERIA
Los Angeles, California

● Of all the minority groups on the Pacific Coast, probably none has gained more social and ecological solidarity as an aftereffect of the recent war than that of the Filipino. Of about sixty-five thousand Filipinos scattered throughout the three Pacific states, about ten thousand may be said to belong to the population of the greater Los Angeles area. But of this ten thousand which may at one time or another live in Los Angeles, at least six to seven thousand constitute a mobile, or floating, population which shifts from area to area according to the demands for seasonal labor.[1]

Of the three or four thousand Filipinos who constitute a stable nucleus for community life in Los Angeles, slightly fewer than one thousand are married and have established any form of normal family life. This means that the remaining two or three thousand may from time to time join the floating mass of migratory field workers for a season on the farm or in Alaska, usually returning after a short absence.

This factor of mobility alone would cause a serious lack of social solidarity among Filipinos, but there is one other factor which perhaps has been even more significant. This is the matter of spiritual disillusionment and social restlessness. Public prejudices which forced the Filipino into menial or field labor and his confusing status as neither citizen nor alien have brought on a form of spiritual decay which has cut deeply into the social roots of Filipino life in America. Although he has not felt entirely welcome in American society, still he has hesitated to return to the Islands until he had either an education or money with which to greet his expectant relatives. The depression years robbed him not only of opportunity but of the ambition and idealism with which he landed on American soil. Some of the more vicious results of social distance left him a more or less demoralized member of society.

---

[1] Today the Filipino may be in Los Angeles, but tomorrow he may be on his way to El Centro for the winter vegetable and melon crops, to Stockton for asparagus, to the fertile Salinas or Pajaro valleys for the lettuce and pea crops, to the apple orchards of Washington, or off to Alaska for the summer salmon run. So runs the life of this large, undefinable floating population, which may at some time, either during the slack season or in between seasons, come to the large cities such as San Francisco, Seattle, or Los Angeles. The latter seems to be highly preferred by many because of the mild climate, and the former two by others because of easier access to gambling or *secoy-secoy* establishments.

One of the first and most obvious changes which the war made in the community life of Los Angeles Filipinos was that of geographical distribution. In the early days the only part of the city which was well known to the average Filipino was that immediately surrounding First and Main streets. Around this area grew up the few Filipino businesses, barber shops, newspapers, pool rooms, and restaurants in which they could congregate. They shared the fringes of this small area with the Japanese ot "Little Tokyo." During the 1930's the rapidly enlarging Filipino population was forced to move in order to find enough rooming and apartment houses in which to live. Hence Filipino rooming houses began to spring up several blocks to the north and west (the Temple Street area from Bunker Hill to Centennial and south of Boylston); a few amusement places sprang up in the adjacent neighborhood. Finally, the opening of Filipino nightclubs and bars at Temple and Figueroa helped to make a new "Little Manila" in this area, and fewer and fewer of the "boys" continued to congregate in the First Street area.[2]

However, it was with the removal of the Japanese to relocation centers during the war that the final death blow was dealt to the "Little Manila" of First Street. Slow to see the opportunity for property investment, the Filipino woke up only to find that all business properties had been purchased by desperate Negro defense workers who had migrated from the South. Necessity drove them to convert the property into both business and family dwelling units. Now instead of the imperturbable Japanese who once streamed past their places of business and with whom relations at the worst had been merely a sullen indifference, they found their doorways filled with a new people. Although the Filipinos have complained bitterly of white prejudices, unfortunately they too occasionally have a few of their own.

In general, the threat of a "little Harlem" was resented by many Filipinos, although there has never been friction between the two groups and Negroes are welcome in Filipino restaurants. But the old "Little Manila" is gone, and more and more Filipinos go only to Temple and Figueroa, where they feel that they have undisputed claim.

The displacement of Japanese has had an even more significant effect on the family life of the more settled Filipinos. Probably the primary

---

[2] The Filipino Christian Church at First and Los Angeles streets, however, has continued to make the First Street area a popular meeting place for the more settled family groups, since the newer Temple-Figueroa area has developed a rather sordid reputation because of a scattering of houses of prostitution in that vicinity. But more clubhouses, lodge halls, and business houses continue to be opened on Temple Street, and undoubtedly it is becoming the key area for the bulk of the Filipino floating population to make their headquarters in during the months of seasonal lag.

problem confronting the married Filipino before the war was how to find a home in an unrestricted neighborhood outside the ring of the Temple Street area, with its many characteristics unwholesome to family life. This problem was so acute that many such families accepted jobs as domestics merely to be assured of a place to live in a better neighborhood. As the Japanese left Los Angeles, homes in more desirable neighborhoods became available, and many Filipinos purchased property from them.[3]

Along with the buying up of Japanese properties came a virtual "back-to-the-farm" movement among the Filipino agricultural workers and even among those of the professional class. Many Filipinos began to buy small farms in the San Fernando Valley and even more in the Torrance-Gardena districts. In certain instances, as many as a dozen former migratory laborers pooled their savings and went into small truck-garden farming. All of these ventures have been successful because of wartime prices, but, even more important, they have increased their owners' social stability.

Unfortunately, many were unable to buy such farms when they were available because of the California law which then prevented the purchase of lands by Orientals who were not citizens (although an American may purchase the entire island of Mindanao, as far as Philippine law is concerned) and by those who were not married to American citizens or who could not arrange to have an American purchase the farm lands for them. In 1945, however, a test case was successfully conducted in the District Court of San Francisco, in which it was ruled that Filipinos may purchase land in California, as they have been able to do in the state of Washington since a similar test case was tried.

The deplorable lack of community life and social solidarity among Filipinos before the war, which permitted little or no cultural contribution to the life of the community as a whole, has also changed in certain respects since the war. Before the war there were two fundamental factors which disturbed and embittered the average Filipino. Probably the most important was the economic factor.

The newly arrived Filipino in America had roughly about three occupational choices: as a domestic, a restaurant worker, or a field laborer. If he chose either of the first two, his social life revolved around an occasional day off, probably Thursday, and the irregularity of restaurant shifts, probably the night shift. If he chose the more independent life of a field worker, he was bound to a life of seasonal wandering up and down

---

[3] New districts into which many Filipino families have gone are those of the Olympic-Vermont area (east of Western and south of San Marino); and the Beverly-Virgil area (as far north as Sunset).

the Pacific coast. None of these occupational choices gave him either the time or any feeling of responsibility for community solidarity. Pervading all this was the inevitable sense of frustration and bitterness about the corner in which American prejudice and misunderstanding had placed him. No matter how well educated or how well qualified, he knew that he need not apply elsewhere.

Not only was his occupational choice predetermined, but his recreational outlets suffered a similar fate. He was welcomed with open arms on the "skidrows" of every California town, but in the better sections he was given only hostile glances. So he spent his occasional day-off either gambling in *secoy-secoy* houses or in the lurid surroundings of a taxi-dance hall. He literally had nowhere else to go! All of this was coupled with the fact that the ratio of men to women varies from 20-1 to as high as 47-1 in most communities, so that his almost abnormal craving for a normal domestic life was thwarted. The more fortunate Filipino had some obscure cousin, townmate, or friend who had married a Mexican, a Negro, or an American woman and at whose home he was welcome on a day off. These few were among the more fortunate; the majority had absolutely no vestige of a home atmosphere.

With the coming of the war and the defense plant boom, a new era opened for the Filipinos. The houseboys, weary of years of dishwashing, hurried to the shipyards of Wilmington and San Pedro and to the teeming gates of Lockheed, Douglas, and Vultee. A few of them were "insulted" by being referred to the company cafeteria, but very few. The majority became welders, technicians, assembly or office workers, and a few became engineers. Another boom brought on by the war was the need for unprecedented numbers of Filipino extras to work for the major motion picture studios. Latent talent began to appear on every street corner; but, even more important, a sense of pride began to appear.

Others were inducted in considerable numbers into the Army. This gave those who wished it the opportunity for American citizenship, so that those who are now returning have chances before them for employment. Many are taking civil service examinations for post-office positions, the police force, and numerous other assignments. Others are going back to college on the G.I. Bill, with the prospect of returning to the Philippines as soon as possible, where there will be many opportunities in the reconstruction era.

Perhaps most important, the war has had a stabilizing effect on the restless spirit of the Filipino. In the early days the perplexing status of the Filipino as neither citizen nor alien (but in practice, except with the draft board, an alien) so baffled him that he had no incentive for either

personal ambition or a constructive community life. For one thing, he doubted whether he would spend the remainder of his life in America; and yet he could not say whether he would go home—for to go home without either an education or money would have been a disgrace, and he had been able to acquire neither. The war forced the Filipino to decide this all-important matter. This unfortunate division is gone from the mind of the average Filipino. He has decided one way or another in most cases; either to go home and help in the reconstruction of his homeland, in which case all his efforts are bent in that direction, or to spend the rest of his days in America, since the old Philippines that he knew is gone, in which event the sobering factor of age and old-age security is causing him to save his money or invest it in property—something which his uncertain state of mind before the war would never have allowed him to do.

Equally significant is the fact that for the first time in Pacific Coast history it is no longer a liability to be a Filipino. Bataan and the resistance of the Filipinos in the war has caused a more interested, tolerant attitude on the part of the average American. Filipinos now go to better places of amusement without the fear of being embarrassed, and everywhere they meet returning veterans from the Pacific who greet them warmly and exchange reminiscences.

A new public interest in the life and culture of the Filipinos has been evidenced in the manner in which the community organization of the Filipinos in Los Angeles is continually being asked to send its groups of Philippine folk dancers and lecturers to women's clubs, bond drives, and churches for performances. The audiences are amazed and enthusiastic as they view the brilliant costumes, dances, and folk music which represent native Philippine culture. Filipino lecturers are also doing an extensive business.

All of these have produced a sense of cultural pride and group solidarity which never before existed among Filipinos in California or Los Angeles. With this increased economic security which accompanied war prosperity, the Filipino Community Organization has many plans underway which reflect the new solidarity of the people. One of these is the building of a community center for both cultural and recreational activities.

Another problem following the end of the war in the Pacific was a large influx of refugees from the Philippines. Most of these are of mixed parentage, having a dual citizenship status, which may mean that they will remain in America. Upon arrival, all of them were homeless and a few destitute. The Filipino community lost no time in organizing assist-

ance. The Filipino Christian Church offered its building, which was converted into temporary dormitories; and local restaurants aided by providing food. Equally spontaneous evidences of group solidarity arose during the various campaigns for clothing and relief supplies for the Philippines. Throughout the war the Filipinos' response to the various war loan drives was astonishingly high in relation to the size of the group.

Yet in spite of all these favorable developments in the community responses of the Filipino, there are many questions going though his mind these days. Question number one is, "Will the Filipino Citizenship Bill be permanently shelved in the Senate, as the indications now seem to be?" Question number two comes from the housing-shortage victim (and there are many Filipino families and returning veterans in that category), "Will we be forced into another Temple-Figueroa situation, and when home production is speeded up, will we be forgotten?" And, of course, the sixty-four-dollar question is, "When the present boom of economic prosperity begins to slacken, will the Americans forget Bataan and Corregidor and invoke another interminable era of dishwashing and asparagus cutting?"

The social solidarity of the Filipino rests upon the answer to these questions.

THE LONG TRAIL OF COOPERATION

EMORY S. BOGARDUS
The University of Southern California

• *Cooperation* is a term of Latin derivation. It comes from *co,* "together," and *operari,* "to work." In a broad sense, *cooperation* means "to work together." The Chinese expression *Gung Ho* has the same meaning, and the Chinese Industrial Cooperatives, originating in 1938, appropriately adopted the slogan Gung Ho. Cooperation is mutual aid. Its aim is to build, to help, to serve—in terms of the larger whole. Perhaps the most important sense in which *cooperation* is used is that of working together for the total welfare. Cooperation in an elementary but vital way has its origins on the lowest levels of life. From beginnings that are less than instinctive cooperation reaches telic ends such as the achievement of democratic goals.

Biological cooperation. Cooperation has an elementary but basic expression on the biological level wherever animals live and thrive in aggregations or groups. The social group, wherever found, testifies to the basic role of cooperation. Without being able to work together in a group no individuals could long survive. In other words, all animals living in groups are able to survive and function because of an underlying and fundamental process of cooperation.

It was a Russian zoologist, Professor Kessler of the University of St. Petersburg, who in 1880, speaking before the Congress of Naturalists, developed the point that in addition to the law of individual conflict there is another basic tendency of life, namely, that represented by the law of cooperation. He pointed out that in the struggle for survival and development animals exercise mutual aid as often as they engage in individual conflict, if not more often. Kessler claimed that in the struggle to live cooperation is more significant than competition and that in the progressive evolution of any species of life mutual aid plays a more important role than does individual strife.[1] The former builds, the latter destroys. Cooperation saves and conserves; competition spends and wastes, even though it stimulates and may result in improved standards. Many inventions come through competition, but they would be lost were it not for the saving grace of mutual aid.

An American biologist, Alfred E. Emerson of the University of Chicago, arrives at conclusions that support the earlier Russian contribu-

---

[1] Quoted in *Mutual Aid* by P. Kropotkin, Penguin Books, Ltd., 1939, p. 14.

tion. According to Professor Emerson, the course of biological evolution shows that the principle of cooperation, in the sense of a life process, is found functioning in all living organisms and is far more important in the evolution of human society than is "the struggle for existence between human beings or human groups."[2] He speaks of "the biological principle of cooperation," which in itself is a far-reaching generalization. He adds that "natural selection sorts out and preserves the more efficient systems," and that of these vital systems one is cooperation.[3] Again he says: "Cooperation has been a more important evolutionary force in the development of man than has the bitter competitive struggle for existence."[4] Struggle would exhaust all living things were it not for the increasing and concomitant strength of cooperation.

To the extent that a social group is already functioning when the individual is born, cooperation precedes competition. Both tendencies appear to be innate in all forms of life, but cooperation has extended its span of influence in terms of constructive human values.

Defensive cooperation. The chief characteristic of cooperation on the biological level is defensive. Professor W. C. Allee, professor of biology of the University of Chicago and recently vice-president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, has conducted experiments with protozoa, one-celled animals, to see what happens when a poisonous element, such as copper, is placed in water in the presence of these tiny organisms. Professor Allee reports that the copper kills isolated individuals. But what else takes place? Immediately numbers of protozoa join together, and each absorbs a small portion of the poisonous copper, and, as a result, they survive and may even flourish in the presence of the poisonous element. Moreover, according to Professor Allee, "this kind of cooperation is characteristic of all living protoplasm in plants as well as animals, and reappears in great variety among more complex living things."[5]

On the other hand, suppose that some element is missing from the water, which makes it an unfavorable environment for protozoa. Again, isolated individuals die. But, again, the individuals combine. If calcium, for example, is the missing factor, then each minute organism will contribute a small amount of calcium to the environing water; and, with no one organism suffering too great a loss, all will survive. By defensive coopera-

---

2 *Science,* 155:38, February 6, 1942.

3 *Biological Abstracts,* Vol. 16, Abstract No. 21423, December, 1942.

4 Quoted by Lee M. Brooks, "Cooperation and the Sociologists," *Consumers' Cooperation,* 28:109, July, 1942.

5 W. C. Allee, "Cooperation among Animals," *Consumers' Cooperation,* 28:88, June, 1942.

tion an unfavorable environment has been made favorable. Defensive mutual aid comes to the rescue of life both when dangerous elements are present and when essential elements are missing. It is life's most significant force because it works for survival and growth.

On the human level the medieval village, dominant throughout Europe for a thousand years or more, illustrates defensive cooperation. The wall, the moat, and the drawbridge were all mute evidences of the defensive nature of the village community. Within, feuds might grow rife between the cooperating citizens, but the defenses were kept intact. The medieval city, likewise, denoted self-protection and strength because of cooperation against marauders from without the city walls. When the nation developed and could protect its villages and cities from enemy forces, the wall and the moat fell into decay and were later removed. The larger cooperative defense represented by nationalism made the smaller defenses unnecessary.

Symbiotic cooperation. Another biological aspect of cooperation that possesses defensive characteristics is symbiotic behavior. Symbiotic cooperation is the working together of "more or less dissimilar organisms." It may extend to the living together in adjusted relations of different species of life.

Bacteria and leguminous plants, such as alfalfa and clover, "work together" to the advantage of both. The former remove nitrogen from the air in the soil and feed it to the latter. In the process the soil is enriched for the following year's crops. Thus, not only are the results of the symbiotic cooperation constructive for the main participants but they extend well into the future beyond the life of the "cooperators."

Sometimes symbiotic cooperation becomes conjunctive. There is a physical union of organisms. The classic case is that of lichens, which represent conjunctive symbiosis of fungi and algae. So close is the cooperation here that the presence of the different component life forms in lichens was long unnoticed.

Infusoria live in the food canals of certain varieties of termites, such as the wood eaters, and survive and grow there. In turn, the termites benefit vitally as a result of their hospitality. They cannot digest the wood which they eat without the aid of the infusoria. In fact, they die if they lose the services of the infusoria.[6] Certain fungilike plants perform a related service to human beings. They live and flourish in the food canals, and at the same time help the human organism to digest its food.

Symbiotic cooperation is strikingly evident where both plants and

----

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 89.

animals of the higher orders live together to the advantage of both. The animal may dig burrows for shelter from storm and heat; by burrowing in the ground he aerates and enriches the soil for the plant or shrub.

Something resembling symbiotic cooperation is found everywhere between human beings possessing different culture traits. Jews who have been bitterly persecuted by Poles in Poland live with them symbiotically in certain areas in Chicago, where they engage in extensive trade relations. For years before 1940 Japanese and Negroes had lived peacefully in certain city blocks in Los Angeles, even in the same apartment houses. In fact, the writer has found white families, Negro families, and Japanese families living in the same apartment house and on friendly terms. Negroes, Mexicans, and white Americans can be found living together peaceably in a given public housing project.

A political party suggests a symbiotic cooperation of dissimilar persons and outlooks on life. This arrangement has been generalized in the well-known phrase: Politics makes strange bedfellows. Sometimes on the same platform widely different economic or religious or other viewpoints are joined in boosting a community chest campaign.

Instinctive cooperation. As biological phenomena become more complex, there appears among higher animals what may be called instinctive cooperation. It is characterized by a remarkable degree of social organization operating on instinctive bases. No description needs to be given of the instinctive cooperation found among honey bees, among certain species of ants, or among social wasps. Here are functional organizations of individuals performing a variety of activities and meeting many needs.

Instinctive cooperation is a complex form of behavior. It is defensive against all kinds of danger from the environment. Wild horses "cooperate" in defense against attacking beasts as well as against freezing weather. An individual animal alone is often helpless, whereas even weak animals, by joining together in protective activities, defy the attacks of stronger forms of life. Instinctive cooperation is written plain in the covey, the swarm, the flock, the herd, the troupe.

Instinctive cooperation is often expansive. It gives life and survival. It is expressed in the saying: In union there is strength.

Instinctive cooperation eliminates a large amount of what might prove to be destructive competition. Instead of staying in a cold climate where food is scarce in winter and where competition would be deadly, birds flock together and fly to warmer climates where there are plentiful food supplies. It has been reported that when beavers become too numerous to live together they break up into two groups, with the older members

going downstream and the younger upstream. In this way destructive competition among them is instinctively avoided.

Cooperation among preliterate human beings has bio-instinctive bases. Earliest man lived in groups, such as the horde, the gens, the clan—all of which testify to the early functioning of mutual aid. Cooperation seems to have been the first essential for the beginnings of human kind and for the establishment of mankind on earth. In the long struggle between man and other forms of life, man could not have established a foothold without cooperative techniques.

Deceptive cooperation. Deceptive cooperation occurs when persons hypocritically exhibit a cooperative spirit for individual gain. They will go to church—in order to get business clients. They will perform patriotic acts—for individual status. They will give generously to charity —for personal recognition.

Deceptive cooperation is an abuse of cooperation. As a rule, deceptive cooperators are prone to see their own good large and that of others small. Of course, they may conduct their joint activities with consideration for the needs of the general public, or they may cooperate deliberately to take advantage of other persons or groups. A predatory gang of boys or an adult gang of thieves abuse the principle of cooperation in order to gain their ignoble ends. Business men of the unscrupulous sort may scheme together to sell falsely labeled foods to the public, or sterile land to hopeful city people who would like to become farmers, or worthless stocks to gullible physicians and college professors.

The deceptively cooperative person often works with others in order to avoid criticism or to save face. He goes to committee meetings, although bored all the time when present, because of a sense of duty. He attends a meeting in behalf of a cause in which he has no heart because he will be reprimanded if he fails to be present. Thus, pseudo cooperation may be forced or indirectly imposed.

Deceptive cooperation may be cleverly imitative of the real thing, or it may frankly show its boredom in crude efforts to be formally cooperative. It may unwittingly give away its false interest in cooperation. It may develop habits of cooperation and become truly cooperative, or it may remain half-hearted, faint-hearted, and sooner or later cast off its mask.

Deceptive cooperation undermines confidence in all cooperation by prostituting it to ulterior ends while pretending to be a genuine representative. It destroys faith not only in cooperation but in human nature as well.

Compulsory cooperation. Among preliterate peoples considerable cooperation is compulsory. Feudal life is shot through with compulsory

cooperation. Slavery indicates the acceptance by the weak of enforced cooperation.

Throughout the scale of civilized life the role of compulsory, or forced, cooperation is noteworthy if not notorious. A large business corporation, a trust, an international cartel, any institution which is organized from the top down illustrates imposed cooperation. The man who must accept subsistence wages or be "fired" is experiencing imposed cooperation. In time of war the democratic state requires considerable regimentation, and even in times of peace many duties are required of citizens.

The best (or the worst) example of compulsory cooperation is that of the modern totalitarian state. Here a dictator and his associates demand cooperation at the point of a gun from both friend and foe. If any persons refuse they are charged with failure to "cooperate," which sometimes means that independent individuals are not acting as the dictator demands. After the invasion of China by Japan in 1937, many Chinese were shot because, it was said, they would not "cooperate" with the Japanese, which really meant that they would not obey dictatorial demands. Many a strong-minded man in a democracy charges other persons with refusing to "cooperate," without seeing that he is misusing the idea of cooperation. What he is really saying is that certain persons will not do as he wants them to do.

In a totalitarian state, where cooperation is forced, a vast system of propaganda is maintained at the expense of the people who are victimized by it. Certain truths are kept from them and lies are glorified. An educational system is carried on which promulgates teachings that magnify the state and minimize the individual except as he gives his all to the state.

Compulsory cooperation is not cooperation at all; it contradicts the idea of intelligent working together. It is a contradiction of terms and is given space here only because many people think of it as though it were real cooperation.

Paternalistic cooperation. This type is a great improvement over the compulsory form. It too is imposed in a way, but it consults its subjects or at least considers their needs. However, their wishes may not always be observed. On occasion, Theodore Roosevelt when President invited to luncheon at the White House representative proponents and opponents of various issues that came before him. He listened to their arguments, but he frequently acted paternalistically, taking the decision into his own hands.

Paternalistic cooperation may give thoughtful consideration to the needs and rights of all concerned. It may act for the welfare of the

group, but the members of the group lack a voice in the decision. At any rate, the decision is not reached by a majority vote of those affected, and hence paternalistic cooperation becomes in a way compulsory.

Where the members of a group are uneducated or ill informed or irresponsible, paternalistic cooperation may have some logical grounds. However, it has the responsibility of seeing that its subjects are trained to arrive at reasonable solutions of their problems and of then giving them a growing opportunity to work together through the use of democratic procedures. One need of paternalistic cooperation is to keep itself from becoming bureaucratic; another is to help its subjects become self-sufficient and able to arrive at decisions by free, democratic procedures.

Democratic cooperation. Democratic cooperation is free and voluntary working together to meet common needs. Democratic cooperation presupposes some degree of intelligent appreciation of personal and social needs and of methods and principles of working together to meet these needs. Regular and continual discussions of needs and ways of meeting them are essential. Democratic cooperation works best when both preceded and accompanied by appropriate educational procedures.

Democratic cooperation implies a measure of cultural homogeneity. The participants cooperate most satisfactorily when they possess the same general ideologies of life. Persons who understand and appreciate one another's viewpoints respond well to democratic cooperation.

Democratic cooperation involves a willingness to work together in solving commonly recognized problems. It calls for a spirit of give-and-take, a willingness on occasion to compromise, an attitude of objective search for the best ways of proceeding. It recognizes the need for common action and for widespread sacrifice in behalf of the common good.

Consumers' cooperative societies illustrate democratic cooperation. They adopt the method of voluntary admission and withdrawal, the method of one vote per person and no proxies, the method of returning net savings to the members on the basis of patronage, the method of discussion and education in cooperative techniques and principles. In so doing they increase the spirit of democracy and engender peacemaking attitudes. They furnish the best quality of goods and services at the lowest costs, and they increase the buying power and reduce the differences between selling prices of producers and buying prices paid by consumers. They adjust prices equitably between producer and consumer. In these and other ways consumers' cooperatives conduct business and industry in a genuinely democratic spirit.

Democratic cooperation may be socially conditioned. In a group where status is accorded all who cooperate freely and where the person who

seeks to get ahead of others loses his status, democratic cooperation has relatively easy sailing. After making painstaking studies among preliterate peoples, Margaret Mead points out that these peoples strive against each other fiercely or work together helpfully, depending on whether society places the emphasis on cooperation or competition.[7] If individuals are richly rewarded and honored for getting ahead of others even at their expense, then a mad, competitive rush develops. On the other hand, if greatest status is accorded those who work hardest for the common good of all, then cooperation prevails.

Democratic cooperation gives the basis for technical and scientific progress. It may be that some inventions are made as the result of competition, but they are saved and conserved and given universal value by cooperation. They are of greatest human import when their use is controlled by the principles of democratic cooperation.

It has been pointed out that democratic cooperation is the main source of the ethical progress of the race. Out of free cooperation in the democratic sense have come most of the moral values that the world considers necessary—honesty and dependability, sympathy and tolerance, helpful and sacrificial living, a sense of personal responsibility for the welfare of mankind. The point cannot be overemphasized that the spirit of cooperation is essential to any moral order.

Cooperation plays an increasingly important evolutionary role, for through cooperation group organization grows large, and in so doing regulates and controls competition. In the present era, for example, cooperation is expressed within groups up to the nation-state, but competition still dominates international relations. It wrecked the League of Nations. It is the chief foe of the United Nations. There will be wars and rumors of wars until the spirit of cooperation is able to unite mankind in a world ideology and organization.

The phenomena of cooperation bring to mind Lester F. Ward's concept of synergy, which he explained as a "universal principle, operating in every department of nature and at every stage in evolution, which is conservative, creative, and constructive." It has a twofold character of energy and mutuality involving "the systematic and organic working together of the antithetical forces of nature."[8] Using the title of "antagonistic cooperation," W. G. Sumner referred to combinations "of two persons or groups to satisfy a great common interest while minor

---

[7] Margaret Mead, *Cooperation and Competition among Primitive Peoples* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1937), p. 458 ff.

[8] Lester F. Ward, *Pure Sociology* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1914), p. 171.

antagonisms of interest which exist between them are suppressed."[9]   A
weakness in this interpretation is that it implies that life begins in antag-
onistic forces and that cooperation is a later development.[10]   The social
theory upon which this paper is based suggests that there have been two
great forces at work since the beginning of evolutionary development, one
cooperative and the other competitive, with competition taking place
within and being made possible by cooperation.

Cooperation, which first appeared in the early evolutionary stage of
life, has played a vital role in the struggle for existence, apparently a
more important part than that performed by its counterpart, competition.
In certain connections it has been made subject to competitive forces and
used by the latter for self-centered ends.   It has ranged from defensive
and instinctive levels to the highly refined behavior of democratic coopera-
tion.   It has gradually expanded its fields of expression from small social
groups to larger ones, and according to the tendency through the ages it
will continue its widening and deepening spheres of control until human
activities generally will be carried on subordinate to the broad cooperative
process.

Four major levels of cooperative activities are indicated in this paper.
These are (1) activities that result in the survival of individuals and
groups; (2) activities that enable some individuals to obtain advantages
at the expense of others and also enable the cooperating individuals "to
get ahead" of others; (3) activities that directly enable individuals to
improve their own well-being and incidentally to benefit others; (4)
activities that enable individuals directly to improve their own well-
being and also directly to contribute to the developing of a new world-
wide social order for the benefit of all human things.

---

9 William G. Sumner, *Folkways* (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1907), p. 18.
10 This is also the idea developed by Albion W. Small in the chapter, "The
Transition from Struggle to Cooperation," in his *General Sociology* (Chicago: The
University of Chicago Press, 1905), Ch. 26.

PACIFIC SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES

The Pacific Sociological Society, Southern Division, and Alpha Kappa Delta, the Alpha of California, held a joint meeting Saturday, July 20, 1946, at The University of Southern California. The program committee consisted of Bessie A. McClenahan, chairman; Esther Penchef, president of Alpha Kappa Delta; and Charles Spaulding, vice-president of the Southern Division of Pacific Sociological Society.

The first part of the meeting was devoted to a presentation of research reports by graduate students with Vandyce Hamren presiding. Mrs. Cheryl Porter, Pomona College, discussed "The IV-E Conscientious Objector with Special Reference to World War II." Monroe G. Sirkens, University of California at Los Angeles, presented "An Analysis of Stouffer's Theory of Interviewing Opportunities," a theory of relating mobility to distance; and William Shaw, The University of Southern California, presented a study of "Industrial Recreation in the Los Angeles Metropolitan Area." The discussants were Ruth Riemer, Fred Strobeck, Lorell Wiess, Patricia Wiese, and George M. Day.

The second part of the meeting was devoted to an address by A. B. Hollingshead, visiting professor at The University of Southern California during the Summer Session, with Leonard Bloom, University of California at Los Angeles, as discussion leader. Dr. Hollingshead's subject was "Clique and Dating Behavior of Adolescents." The clique and dating traits of adolescents are phases of a large study of the relationships between adolescent behavior and social class. The report of this address is an abstract of the detailed material presented.

The informal social relationships of the 369 boys and 366 girls in the study were observed systematically over a six-month period to determine who associated with whom on a friendly, intimate, more or less equal give-and-take basis. The activities of these teen-age youth reported on fell into two broad categories: (1) cliques and (2) dates.

Preliminary observation of the association of boys with boys and girls with girls revealed that a given boy or girl did not associate with boys or girls in general, or with all the boys or girls of comparable age in the community. Any particular boy or girl, who was observed over a period of time to discover with whom he associated, revealed he had intimate associations with only a small number of boys out of the universe of possible boys in the community with whom theoretically he could have associated. By associating with only a small proportion of the theoretically possible persons of the same age and sex in the community, an adolescent's social relationships with other teen-agers were limited to those who accepted him, and whom he accepted, as an intimate. This process produced a series of groups that are variously known as "bunches," "crowds," "gangs," and "cliques." It is believed the term *clique* best describes these groups. The more or less permanent relationships the members of a clique bear to one another have been called clique relations. Clique relations can be observed, charted on sociograms, quantified, and analyzed by statistical techniques. This was done to determine the factors conditioning who associates with whom on an intimate, personal basis. A total of 1,258 clique relations were observed for 390 high school students; 514 among the boys and 744 among the girls. These clique relations covered 259 cliques.

The relationships which these cliques bore to social class are presented in Table I.

TABLE I

Percentage of Observed Clique Relations with and between Social Classes by Sex

Boys

| Social Class | SOCIAL CLASS | | | |
	U. M.	L. M.	U. L.	L. L.
Upper middle	49.3	37.7	13.0	------
Lower middle	11.1	60.8	27.2	.9
Upper lower	4.6	33.0	59.8	2.6
Lower lower	------	13.0	31.0	56.0

Girls

| Social Class | SOCIAL CLASS | | | |
	U. M.	L. M.	U. L.	L. L.
Upper middle	55.7	25.7	18.5	------
Lower middle	6.7	64.3	28.2	.7
Upper lower	3.7	21.4	69.9	5.0
Lower lower	------	4.0	36.0	60.0

(This table should be read horizontally. The underscored figures are clique associations with a social class.)

The association between social class and the dating behavior of these adolescents is revealed in Table II. A glance at Table II will reveal that in all the social classes one half or more of the dates were with class equals. It is interesting to note that the percentage of each class that dated class equals increased consistently from the higher to the lower classes until the lower was reached. Here we found that both the boys and the girls dated the adjacent class more frequently than was the case for the upper lowers.

TABLE II

Percentage of Dates High School Boys and Girls of a Given Social Class Had with Girls and Boys of Each Social Class

Boys

| Social Class | SOCIAL CLASS | | | |
	U. M.	L. M.	U. L.	L. L.
Upper middle	54	38	8	....
Lower middle	18	53	27	2
Upper lower	3	11	79	7
Lower lower	....	2	28	70

Girls

| Social Class | SOCIAL CLASS | | | |
	U. M.	L. M.	U. L.	L. L.
Upper middle	50	35	15	—
Lower middle	15	58	27	....
Upper lower	4	16	74	5
Lower lower		9	33	58

(This table should be read across the rows. The underscored figures are dating relationships within a social class to the nearest percentage.)

Conclusion: Both clique and dating relationships of adolescents are associated in a significant manner with social class. The finding that the upper and upper middle classes had no clique or dating ties with the lower lowers in the study indicates that the two ends of the status structure in "Elmtown" do not communicate with each other in an intimate personal face-to-face manner that implies equality or social acceptance. It is believed that this finding is of such significance that further research is needed on this point. Its implications cannot be developed here because of special limitations.

Pomona College

John H. Burma has been added to the Sociology Staff. Dr. Burma comes from Grinnell College, Iowa.

The University of Southern California

Helen Ferris and David DeMarche received the Doctor of Philosophy degree at the June Convocation. Miss Ferris' dissertation subject was "The Social Significance of the Educational Aspects of the Cooperative Movement," and DeMarche's subject was "The Measurement and Analysis of Factors Related to Success or Failure of Camp Counselors."

CLARENCE MARSH CASE, 1874-1946

Clarence M. Case, professor of sociology, The University of Southern California, died in Los Angeles July 20, 1946, after an illness of several years. He was born in Indianapolis, Indiana, January 18, 1874. On August 15, 1899, he married Catharine Moore, who was his constant companion and co-worker until she preceded him in death six years ago.

Dr. Case received his B. A. from Earlham College in 1905 and his M. A. from Brown University in 1908, where he was a student of Lester F. Ward; studied in Harvard Graduate School, 1908-09; and received his Ph. D. degree from the University of Wisconsin in 1915, under the direction of Edward A. Ross.

He began his professional career as a public school teacher in Indiana, 1896-1904; after which he served as pastor in the Meeting of Friends, Richmond, Indiana, 1904-07, and in Providence, Rhode Island, 1907-10. He was professor and head of the Department of History and Social Science, Penn College, Oskaloosa, Iowa, 1910-17; associate professor of sociology, State University of Iowa, 1917-23; and professor of sociology, The University of Southern California, since 1923, in which institution he taught for twenty-one years. He retired from active duties two years ago. He was also visiting professor in Stanford University during the summer of 1930 and in Harvard University during the summer of 1935.

Dr. Case was the author of *The Banner of the White Horse: A Tale of the Saxon Conquest*, 1916; *Non-Violent Coercion: A Study of Methods of Social Pressure*, 1923; *Outlines of Introductory Sociology*, 1924; and *Social Process and Human Progress*, 1931. He wrote numerous articles, appearing chiefly in *Sociology and Social Research*, of which Journal he was an associate editor, and *The American Journal of Sociology*, of which he was a member of the board of advisory editors. In 1944, the Sociology Ph.D.'s and Faculty of the Department of Sociology, The University of Southern California, published *Essays in Social Values*, a volume of selected articles and a previously unpublished essay "A

Tentative Social Age Trend Chart" from the pen of Dr. Case, most of which were written since his latest book was published. A complete list of published writings appeared in this volume.

Sociologists know him chiefly for his emphasis on the cultural approach to sociology; his contributions to social theory, especially his clarifying discussions of social values, social process, human progress, social problems, the conjuncture theory of leadership, and social age concept; and his interest in the non-violent coercion movement and creative peacemaking. Students and colleagues remember him as a kindly man, a loyal friend, an inspiring teacher, and a scholar of the first rank. He had a keen sense of humor and a subtle wit. Always modest about his own accomplishments, he was ever ready to give credit to others.

A longer biographical sketch and other articles giving a résumé of some of Dr. Case's major contributions to sociology will appear in subsequent issues of this Journal.

SOCIAL THEORY

CHILD PSYCHOLOGY FOR PROFESSIONAL WORKERS. By FLORENCE
    M. TEAGARDEN. Revised Edition. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1946, pp.
    xxii+613.

In the Preface Florence M. Teagarden acknowledges the great changes that have taken place in the world since the first edition (1940) of this book. She suggests the spirit in which the present revision was undertaken by questioning whether one may make any significant contribution to the solution of the many problems of human welfare, but "one can, at least, write with live human problems in mind." As the title suggests, the contents are not at all those that would be put into a manual for parents or into a college textbook on child psychology. An able discussion is presented concerning the child and his problems relating to heredity, infancy, home, school, adoption, sex life, emotions, intelligence, behavior difficulties, diseases, and visual, speech, auditory, and physical handicaps. Pertinent references distributed among the 17 chapters total 1,813, or about 106 for each chapter. The Index contains 30 pages of terms and names.

Practical as well as theoretical enlightenment abounds throughout the book, with an emphasis on the mental hygiene approach to the psychological and social problems of childhood. The professional workers should associate with normal children as much as possible to help retain a "fine social perspective." Differences between congenital and hereditary defects are discussed. All terms are carefully defined before the author clarifies the many social and emotional pathologies found in case work. Among the observations are these: "Percentages of agreement" between mothers and daughters range from 3 to 98 per cent; there are times when some parents should not be obeyed; the day of "shotgun marriages" is past. The statements in this book are distilled from years of practical experience.

                                                            CLYDE B. VEDDER

AMERICA AND RUSSIA IN THE WORLD-COMMUNITY. By Harold
    H. Fisher. With a Foreword by Frederick Hard. Claremont, California,
    1946.

The basis of the book consists of the two lectures which were presented under
the auspices of the three associated colleges—Pomona, Scripps, and Claremont—as
a part of an annual series. The author, chairman of the Hoover Institute and
Library on War, Revolution, and Peace at Stanford University, became acquainted
with Russia in 1921-23 when he served as an officer of the American Relief
Administration under Herbert Hoover. He is, therefore, much better prepared
than many others to write on Russia. Being a professor of history, he has shown
in his book a sound historical perspective and a familiarity with the trends and
peculiarities of Russian history. His approach to the subject is skillful and
scholarly; his analysis and discussion are executed with orderliness, clarity, and
conviction.

Among other forces at work in the formation of international relations Dr.
Fisher emphasizes the revolution through which the world is passing. First
started in Russia, this revolution is taking place, although in disguise, in every
country and has made a world community possible and a world organization
necessary. Dr. Fisher believes that "the heaviest responsibility for the organiza-
tion of peace rests upon America and Russia; in fact, without the collaboration of
these two countries the organization of peace is impossible." In conclusion the
author expresses his conviction that the needed American-Russian cooperation is
possible.   IVAN A. LOPATIN

THE 21ST CENTURY LOOKS BACK. By Emanuel R. Posnack. New
    York: The William-Frederick Press, 1946, pp. v+241.

Utopian-minded author Posnack in this book has constructed out of his lively
imagination pictures of a United States of the World, circa 2000 A.D. His new
world came into being under the "dynamic influence of youth's enthusiasm and
energy." Rendering service to the idea of a global community, the youths of
every land united and made over the old 20th-century world so that its mistakes
might never again blot it. They succeeded in achieving a "free society with a
prevailing order of dynamic equilibrium." The new world possesses a free flow
of goods, men, and information. A global statistical service with a constant flow
of business information keeps everyone alive to the possibilities of world markets
for goods or services. No cartels, no tariff walls, no confiscatory taxes, no special
privileges or concessions rear their ugly heads in the Posnack construct. Every-
where reigns a state of cooperative peace because its citizens are free and unfet-
tered.

By this means of presenting the ideal world scene, the author manages to analyze
many of the imperfections of the present world situation including an arraign-
ment of the mistakes of the capitalistic order and a refutation of communism. A
major portion of his discussion centers around economic factors, though some space
has been allotted to remarks upon anti-Semitism, religion, and education. The
book serves as a vehicle for purveying the author's ideas, ideals, and theoretical
considerations, many of which are not entirely new but which will bear restate-
ment during these out-of-joint times.   M.J.V.

RESEARCH AND REGIONAL WELFARE. Papers Presented at a Confer-
  ence on Research.   Edited by ROBERT E. COKER.   Chapel Hill: University
  of North Carolina Press, 1945, pp. xvi+229.

While most of these papers deal with research needs and opportunities of the
South, some of them have broader implications. The range of topics is compre-
hensive, for it includes the physical sciences, the biological sciences, the social
sciences, and the humanities.

President F. P. Graham of the University of North Carolina contends, "It is
the responsibility of the state and the nation to make appropriations for research
as an investment for the welfare and progress of the people." President H. Vagt-
borg of the Midwest Research Institute is quoted as claiming "that the greatest
contribution of the university is in training research men." The importance of
"research management" is given emphasis. A scientist is defined by Professor
D. C. Allen (English Department) of Johns Hopkins University as a person
"realizing himself at the highest when he is tracing a given set of facts behaving
according to a pattern of logic under conditions absolutely controlled." Research
in literature, in the words of Professor Allen, consists of two types: one "moves
towards the penetration of a literary work's meaning and artistry" and the other
"departs in the direction of the history of ideas and seeks to establish the intel-
lectual climate of the period that produced the work of art." Chairman D. E.
Lilienthal of the TVA points out the responsibility that rests "on those who foster
research for the human consequences it produces." This document contains many
additional generalizations of significance regarding research in our current age.

<div align="right">E.S.B.</div>

A GRAMMAR OF MOTIVES. By KENNETH BURKE. New York: Prentice-
  Hall, Inc., 1945, pp. xxiii+530.
SIGNS, LANGUAGE, AND BEHAVIOR. By CHARLES MORRIS. New York:
  Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1946, pp. xii+365.

These two books offer enough materials dealing with semantics to satisfy the
most exacting *semiotician,* to use a Morris term. Author Burke, undertaking to
give an answer to what is involved when the motives of persons are being
determined, uses five terms for conducting his investigation: namely, act, scene,
agent, agency, and purpose. Author Morris sets for himself the task of inquiring
into the nature of signs which provide an instrumentality for the understanding
of, and effective participation in, intellectual, cultural, personal, and social
problems.   His terms are signals, symbols, comsignals, comsymbols, language
signals, language symbols, and postlanguage symbols. Both authors are interested
in the ultimate and vitalistic meaning of the thought process and its resultant,
ideas.

A Grammar of Motives utilizes for its clarification of the problem of motives
the three levels of language: grammar, rhetoric, and symbol. Thinking largely in
terms of dramatic situations, the author explains by means of his five key terms
how to "treat language and thought primarily as modes of action." His hypothesis
is that the "subject of motivation is a philosophic one, not ultimately to be solved
in terms of empirical science." Following his argument, the philosophic schools
of thought—materialism, idealism, pragmatism, mysticism, and realism—are sub-
jected to interpretation through scene, agent, agency, purpose, and act, respectively.
Strikingly important is his inquiry into the dialectic of constitutions, the effect of
which may leave some readers with the idea that Mr. Burke has shown most

ironically how the politician and the propagandist may really become masters of
the idea. This is a book which must be read slowly and seriously lest it be taken
for an abstract of abstractions.

Signs, Language, and Behavior develops a theory of signs in terms of behavior-
istics. Problems of meaning, language, and communication are dealt with in
terms of signs which are "described and differentiated in terms of the dispositions
to behavior which they cause in their interpreters." Four primary sign usages are
presented: (1) to inform the organism about something, (2) to aid it in its prefer-
ential selection of objects, (3) to incite response sequences of some behavior
family, and (4) to organize sign-produced behavior (interpretants) into a
determinate whole.   Morris believes that the future welfare of society
depends upon how well *semiotic* "can clarify the dangers and the potentialities
inherent in the new agencies of communication created by modern technology, and
sharpen the distinction between totalitarian and democratic social control of these
agencies." His book reveals itself as a kind of plea for the establishment of a
science of *semiotic,* which would enable human society to understand itself and
the persons who compose it.   M.J.V.

FROM MAX WEBER: ESSAYS IN SOCIOLOGY. Translated and edited
    by H. H. GERTH and C. WRIGHT MILLS. New York: Oxford University
    Press, 1946, pp. xi+490.

The translators have rendered a splendid service to English-speaking students
of sociology. Max Weber (1864-1920) has become recognized as an able con-
tributor to sociological thought, but his writings are not well known in the
United States because he has a tendency "to Platonize thought." As stated in the
Preface, Weber wrote in the tradition of "polyphonous sentences," of synchroniz-
ing thought instead of serializing it, and of erecting "a grammatical artifice in
which mental balconies and watch towers, as well as bridges and recesses, decorate
the main structure."

In the various essays presented in this volume the following topics are treated:
politics as a vocation, science as a vocation, the economic foundations of im-
perialism, class and status and party, bureaucracy, the meaning of discipline, the
Protestant sects and the spirit of capitalism, religious rejections of the world, the
Brahman and the castes, and the Chinese literati.

The discussion of bureaucracy is full of social significance. Among the many
ideas suggested are these: "A bureau is a body of officials actively engaged in a
public office, along with the respective apparatus of material implements and
files." It is characterized by "a burarchical office authority." It carries with it
"a distinct social esteem." Its main officials are appointed. It is knit to "the one
presupposition of a constant income for maintaining it." It has "purely technical
superiority over any other form of organization." It offers "above all the optimum
possibility for carrying through the principle of specializing administrative func-
tions according to purely objective considerations." It arises in both "big capitalist
enterprises" and in public organizations. "Bureaucracy inevitably accompanies
modern mass democracy in contrast to the democratic self-government of small
homogeneous units." It tends to arrive at decisions through "secret sessions" and
to make public only that which cannot do any harm to the intentions of the
"power-wielding bureaucracy."

In the brief biographical view of the author given by the translators Weber is
seen as a precocious youth and as something of an intellectual genius when he grew
up. Contradictions in personality traits were not foreign to him.   E.S.B.

ECONOMIC PARALYSIS AND PROBLEMS. By JOHN F. CRONIN. New
    York: American Book Company, 1945, pp. xv+623.

This is a remarkably good elementary textbook for the beginning student in
economics. Dr. Cronin of St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore has an excellent social
point of view with which he endows his interpretations of economic situations.
There is always present a good, though brief, historical background for the situa-
tions analyzed. The organization of materials is well planned, the book being
divided into four parts: (1) the structure of the economic system; (2) value,
price, and exchange; (3) the functioning of the economic system; and (4) prob-
lems and philosophies of distribution. The author has developed his materials
with considerable skill and has utilized recent statistical reports to amplify his
discussions. New to this kind of book is the inclusion in the fourth part of expo-
sitions on programs of social reform undertaken by Protestantism, Judaism, and
Catholicism. These chapters are significantly interesting and add considerably to
the value of the book. This part of the book also undertakes to offer an analysis
of communism in both its Russian and American forms. For its concluding
chapter, the text presents a short account of Catholic social thought, emphasizing
in particular how it has been directed toward the workers and their struggle for
better working and living conditions. The lucid and thoroughgoing analysis of
socioeconomic conditions makes this a worth-while contribution to economic litera-
ture.   M.J.V.

VALUES FOR SURVIVAL. Essays, Addresses, and Letters on Politics and
    Education. By LEWIS MUMFORD. New York: Harcourt, Brace and
    Company, 1946, pp. viii+314.

"What must modern man do to be saved?" saved from the evils of barbarism.
In Mr. Mumford's own words this book consists of variations on that theme.
Barbarism is the pathological expression of the evil in man, and in the form of
self-conscious fascism it has systematized its perversities, delusions, and irrationali-
ties into a standard of values. Through world destruction barbarism hopes to
substitute that system for the ideals of Christian civilization.

Why has barbarism been able to rear its frightful and ugly head? Because of
the "corruption of liberalism." The liberal has lost confidence in his vision of
life, his ideals, and himself and has compromised with despotism. "Liberals no
longer act as if justice mattered, as if truth mattered, as if right mattered, as if
humanity as a whole were any concern of theirs: the truth is they no longer dare
to act." Evidence of this corruption is the loss of sensibility of mankind to bar-
barity and killing—human life is no longer sacred. The dropping of the atomic
bomb is witness to our own moral nihilism.

This crisis is the end of a great epoch of four centuries—an epoch characterized
by "mechanism, militarism, and mammonism: a period during which the motives
of domination and acquisition came gradually to displace other human interests or
reduce their capacity for effective expression." In this mechanistic era liberalism
lost its concept of a meaningful world through its neglect of ethics, aesthetics, and
religion. Science was to have taken care of everything, science without norms.
Even in the social sciences there has been loss of direction because they have
decried valuations for human welfare.

There is a race between catastrophe and education; catastrophe is in the lead.
Re-education of man is imperative. Here is the responsibility of the humanities,

of the educators. They must make men. To do this they must understand the organic nature of life, the unity of life, and only by taking full part in the life of the community can they understand those things. What must man do to be saved? He must achieve unconditional redemption—no less. He must redefine those humanitarian values of Christian civilization: values which we have cherished as our social heritage, but which we have been unwilling to fight for in the forum, in the classroom, in the community. The redemption must take place in man's heart, and now.

Mr. Mumford has written a book in which any reader—layman, educator, statesman, or business man—will find cause to search deep within his own heart, whether he be really liberal or barbarian.   VANDYCE HAMREN

BEATRICE WEBB. By MARGARET COLE. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, pp. vi+229.

Mrs. Cole has done an excellent piece of work in this portrayal of an outstanding English woman. Although the author speaks of Mrs. Webb as "the greatest woman I have ever known," she has maintained an objective viewpoint. She writes fascinatingly of Beatrice Potter's childhood and youth, of her marriage with Sidney Webb, and of some of the chief partnership activities of Sidney and Beatrice Webb.

This book gives an extensive and favorable portrayal of Sidney Webb. There is an excellent discussion of the Webbs' contribution to the cause of trade unionism, education, and local government in England. Fabianism is referred to in many connections. The interest of the Webbs in soviet communism is described at length. Herbert Spencer, Bernard Shaw, Graham Wallas, H. G. Wells, and other notables played important roles in the life of Mrs. Webb and move in and out of this biography with ease. Beatrice Webb lives again as a result of Margaret Cole's delineations.   E.S.B.

FACING YOUR SOCIAL SITUATION. By JAMES F. WALSH. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1946, pp. xi+237.

Father Walsh of Saint Regis College offers this book as an introductory text in social psychology. More exactly, as the Preface indicates, it is the author's conception of Christian social psychology. As such, it may be accepted as an excellent text for the Catholic student. It is very well written and is successful in making the psychologic thought of real value to the student. There is ample evidence that the author has a scholarly grasp of the field. His emphasis has been placed upon the social situation—how it is created, how persons may react to it, and how to control it effectively. The injection of Catholic theology into the subject matter has been accomplished with considerable tact and unobtrusiveness, although in several instances the author chides some social psychologists for their ignorance on certain religious or church matters. No attempt has been made to include objective data, but much of the best theory of prominent social psychologists has been appropriately woven into the text. The book is engagingly written too, and should fulfill whatever need there may have been for it in the mind of the author.
                    M.J.V.

CHILD PSYCHOLOGY AND DEVELOPMENT. By Louis P. Thorpe. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1946, pp. xxvi+781.

The reviewer is impressed, first, by the tremendous amount of work that has gone into the 781 pages of this book; second, by the extent to which the author has culled the sources for pertinent materials on hundreds of related topics; third, by the objective and nonopinionated point of view maintained throughout the treatise; fourth, by the logical and original presentation of data from the first chapter on "What the Child Inherits" to the fifteenth and last one on "Mental Hygiene of the Child"; fifth, by the bringing together of over 100 diagrams, charts, and photographs which illustrate well many of the main points; sixth, by the straightforward, clear style; and, seventh, by the equal facility with which the subject matter may be understood by the upper division college student and by thoughtful parents.

Most sociologists will find themselves in accord with the viewpoint of the author, for the environmentalist's approach is emphasized, and for the same reason the eugenicist will likely disagree at a number of points. Of special value is the chapter on "How to Study Children." The materials offered on the subjects of "regulating emotional behavior" and of "how the child's understanding develops" are far reaching in significance. The discussions of the origins and development of language, of "the social education of the child," and of "safeguarding the child's personality" are especially valuable. It is difficult to see how the purpose that the author had in mind in preparing this text could be met more effectively than is done in this volume.   E.S.B.

PERSONALITY NUMBER. Issue of *Education*, May, 1946. By Louis P. Thorpe, Editor. Boston: The Palmer Company, pp. 64.

The eleven articles presented in this special number of *Education* comprise an up-to-date symposium of important phases of human personality. Special attention may be called to the following topics: mental health and the school child (Louis P. Thorpe), personality development at the college level (Lois B. Murphy), the education of personality (Mandel Sherman), and personality adjustment and leadership (Sister M. Alexandra) .

RACES AND CULTURE

PALESTINE: PROBLEM AND PROMISE. By Robert R. Nathan, Oscar Gass, and Daniel Creamer. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1946, pp. 675.

Within the area of Palestine, equivalent to that of the state of Maryland, live approximately 1,700,000 persons, comprising 66 per cent Arabs, 32 per cent Jews, and 2 per cent others. The basic feature of life there is the division into Arab and Jewish communities, with two economies, two cultures, and two sets of political aspirations. It is within this demographic and political framework that the problems of Palestine are viewed in this evaluation sponsored by the American Palestine Institute. The work is a comprehensive discussion of the current position of Palestine, with particular reference to the contemporary status of the Jewish population there.

The book has four broad divisions. It begins, rather uniquely, with a Summary of Conclusions based on the three-year study of Palestine. The second part, Perspectives in Time and Space, presents the Middle Eastern setting of Palestine and discusses the relationship of Arabs and Jews. Part III, Palestine Today, is concerned with the economic potential; while Part IV, Palestine in the Next Decade, attempts to forecast some of the future trends. An appendix, giving acknowledgments of source materials, and an index complete the book.

The contrast between Jewish and Arab positions in Palestine is constantly emphasized in the work; comment is frequently weighted in favor of the former group, as in the statement, "The more Jews there are in Palestine, the more room there will be for Arabs, due to expansion of economic opportunities by Jews." All through the book runs the note of planning for future increase in Jewish population. However, it is pointed out that peace in Palestine cannot be foreseen realistically except in terms of greater success of Arabs and Jews in living and working together. It is this peace which constitutes a large part of the "promise" of Palestine.   CARROLL RICHARDSON

MINORITY PROBLEMS IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS. A Study of Administrative Policies and Practices in Seven School Systems. By THEODORE BRAMELD. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1946, pp. ix+264.

In these case studies of seven cities in the United States, the author has given special attention to the racial situations, to the programs which reduce prejudice, and to a series of suggestions that look toward the development of intercultural education is permeating the curriculum and the life of representative American schools" in industrial cities ranging in size from 25,000 to 1,000,000 people. In comparison with what might be done, or with what needs to be done if tolerance, understanding, and good will are to prevail, the showing for incultural education in these cities is not very great.

The general conclusion to which the author arrives is this: "Where peoples of various cultures and races freely and genuinely associate, there tensions and difficulties, prejudices and confusions, dissolve; where they do not associate, where they are isolated from one another, there prejudice and conflict grow like a disease." This is a statement worth pondering over and acting upon by all persons interested in bettering human relationships.   E.S.B.

A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE COPTS. By WILLIAM N. WORRELL. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1945 pp. viii+56.

In the United States the Copts are known to most persons chiefly by their name. These people, who are called the "native Christians of Egypt," number a little less than one million. They are "indigenous Egyptians," "a people with the longest of recorded histories." They consider that they have the true orthodox Christian doctrine and "consequently believe that their church is the true core of Christendom."

The author describes their historical relations with the Greeks, their early life in Egypt, and their Arabization (Arabic is their spoken language). The author specifically omits a description of Coptic art because he does not feel equal to the opportunity. It would have been well if he had thrown some light upon the social and cultural life today of the Copts in their present location in central Egypt.

SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII. Volume IX-X. Edited by JAMES T. LANE, MILES SHISHIDO, and KIMIE LANE. Honolulu, Hawaii: Sociology Club, University of Hawaii, July, 1945, pp. 109.

This issue of *Social Process in Hawaii* is the second devoted to the general theme, "The Impact of War upon Hawaii." The central purpose of the articles by students and faculty advisers at the university is to describe and interpret race relations and civilian morale during the war.

Much of the source material was taken from the files of the War Research Laboratory of the University of Hawaii. Wartime obstacles to objective research made the problem of methodology a difficult one. The methodology developed consisted of classification, analysis, and interpretation of materials from the following sources: (1) personal observations by students of behavior of segments of the population; (2) reports of volunteer collaborators throughout the Territory; (3) diaries and accounts describing events and reactions following December 7, 1941; (4) questionnaires distributed to high school and college students; (5) letters; (6) interviews; (7) census data; (8) newspapers and periodicals; and (9) previous publications.

Among important conclusions are the following: (1) Antagonism against residents of Japanese ancestry has decreased since 1942 but has not disappeared. (2) The traditional code of racial equality in Hawaii has been violated in regard to Negro troops and war workers from the mainland. (3) Interracial marriages and legitimate and illegitimate births have increased during the war. (4) A new political and social consciousness has developed among plantation workers. The Sociology Club and the staff of the War Research Laboratory are making a unique contribution to sociological knowledge by their day-by-day, on-the-spot recording of revolutionary cultural changes following the bombs on Pearl Harbor.

J. WALTER COBB

THE LOST AMERICANS. BY FRANK C. HIBBEN. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1946, pp. xi+196.

The origins of man in the Western Hemisphere, particularly in the United States, constitute the subject matter of this book. The author is an anthropologist who carries on his work with enthusiasm and who is engaged in an extensive and persistent search for any and all clues to the nature of the first people who occupied this continent and to the origins of these original inhabitants. Especially interesting are the sections of the book which describe the "Folsom men" and the "Sandia men." Circumstantial evidence is utilized to its full value in depicting some of the characteristics of these early peoples. The Folsom men may have lived in what is now New Mexico and elsewhere about 10,000 years ago. The Sandia men go back much farther. These people lived in the days of the camel and the mammoth and other wild animals; in fact, in the author's picturesque language, they lived "in a veritable zoo." Arrow points, chips of flint, bits of charcoal amid bones of now extinct species of animals—all located in given strata of sand and rock—are the chief clues to the struggle between man and other forms of animal life for dominance thousands of years ago. These are the anthropological data which the author so facilely describes.   E.S.B.

SOCIAL WELFARE

OFF THE JOB LIVING. A Modern Concept of Recreation and Its Place in the Postwar World. By G. OTT ROMNEY. New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1945, pp. x+232.

The author presents an interesting philosophy of recreation which has grown out of his long years of experience as a physical education teacher, municipal recreation director, sports writer, and director of the nation's large recreation projects during the depression and during wartime. He reviews the accomplishments of the national recreation and leisure-time agencies at work during the depression years and the community responsibility for off-the-job living. This is followed by a summary of some of the recreation activities during wartime, especially the work with service men and women in the different theaters of the war. Recreation in industry, in public housing projects, and in various types of correctional institutions is given brief consideration. The chief ingredients of recreation service are programme, leadership, and facilities. Mr. Romney does not present a critical analysis of any of these programs of recreation, but he draws on his wide experience to illustrate his points. His keen sense of humor and his genuine understanding of people and their needs add to the value of the book.   M.H.N.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE COOPERATIVE LEAGUE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. By JAMES P. WARBASSE. Second Edition, revised to January 1, 1946. New York: The Cooperative League, 1946, pp. 40.

Valuable historical data are included in this brochure. No one compares with Dr. Warbasse in his acquaintance with the history of consumers' cooperation in the United States. In fact, for the first twenty-five years of this movement, Dr. Warbasse played by far the largest role. His modesty prevents him from describing even a semblance of the foresight, industry, and vision which he contributed. He inaugurated the vital idea that "education should precede business" in the cooperative world. The educational importance of the Cooperative League cannot be adequately appreciated.   E.S.B.

THE PEOPLE'S YEAR BOOK, 1946. By the Publicity Department, Manchester, England: Cooperative Wholesale Society, 1946, pp. 172.

In this account of the activities of the cooperative movement in England in 1945, the restrictions have been lifted on what the German bombers did to the stores of the cooperative societies during the war. Photograph after photograph reveals the destructive havoc that laid waste one city after another. This account also gives ample evidence of the loyalty of the members of the cooperatives and of their promptness and efficiency in keeping the stores in operation despite the bombing raids. On the whole, considerable progress in the activities of the English cooperatives during 1945 is revealed.

WHERE DO PEOPLE TAKE THEIR TROUBLES? BY MRS. LEE R.
STEINER. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1945, pp. 265.

This book is an exposé of the variety of practitioners who profit at the expense of
people's troubles—personal, emotional, occupational, even religious. The author
has not been content to read about her subject; she has explored it personally. The
material was collected over a period of twelve years.

The first part of the research was done in Chicago. Later Mrs. Steiner moved
to New York City and continued her explorations at first hand. She posed as a
person in trouble wanting help with her personal problems or those of her rela-
tives. She wrote to various "Consultants," had interviews with them, and read
their literature. The book not only reveals the exploitation of people in trouble
and the successful living made out of it by people totally untrained for adequate
counseling but points to a program which would be constructively helpful.

The story is an amazingly frank one, couched in dramatic English. Names,
verbatim reports of interviews, quotations from letters and advertising, histories of
the so-styled advisers, their charges, and their methods are trenchantly presented.

Who should be qualified to do professional counseling? There are four groups
of such persons: psychiatrists, psychiatric social workers, psychoanalysts, and
clinical psychologists. The qualifications for each group are noted. Mrs. Steiner
uses the word "psychologist" to designate any of these professionally qualified
consultants. She calls attention to the fact that most of the imposters are to be
found in the field of clinical psychology.

Throughout the book various case situations are realistically presented with the
treatment suggested by the pseudo psychologist. Fallacies in counseling are
objectively pointed out by the author and are vividly contrasted with the
professional approach to treatment. Mrs. Steiner points to the limited pro-
fessional services available not only in the small town but even in the great
city. An adequate mental hygiene program would include a nation-wide education
program through radio, group meetings, printed material, opportunity for
individual counseling, including that available through traveling clinical groups
serving small communities. "Some such plan for education and professional
psychological treatment is our next *must* in governmental interest.

The reader is struck anew with the twin facts of people's search for answers
to their problems and of their easy exploitation, abetted by their anxious credulity
and hunger for understanding and for emotional security.   B.A.MCC.

MANAGER'S MANUAL FOR COOPERATIVE STORES. Second Edition.
Boston: Edward A. Filene Good Will Fund, Inc., 1945, pp. 175.

In the first edition (1940) of this book the chief emphasis was laid on the
operation of cooperative food stores. This edition carries forward the instructions
for food store operation into the cooperative distribution of other commodities,
such as electric appliances and frozen foods. The extension of self-service includes
the distribution of work clothes, stockings, etc. Cognizance is also taken of the
increased use of automatic vending machines in food stores. The *Manual,* which
has demonstrated its widespread usefulness, deserves a still wider acceptance as a
practical guide in the conduct of cooperative business.

CONSUMER COOPERATIVE LEADERSHIP. Organizing and Running Co-
operatives. Second Edition. Boston: Edward A. Filene Good Will Fund,
Inc., 1945, pp. xv+176.

In the revision of the first edition (1942) of this book, minor corrections have
been made. Special appreciation is expressed in the Foreword to V. S. Alanne of
Superior, Wisconsin, for several substantial improvements. Vitally important are
the directions for organizing and administering a consumer cooperative. Especially
significant is the description of the activities of an educational committee of a
cooperative. More photographic illustrations (only two are given) would be
invaluable. A useful annotated bibliography of books has been added.

TEACHING THROUGH RADIO. By WILLIAM B. LEVENSON. New York:
Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1945, xii+474.

The author, as Directing Supervisor of Radio of the Cleveland Board of
Education, is in a unique position to observe and record the development of the
educational use of the radio. As stated in the Preface, the purpose of this book
is to suggest improvement of school broadcasting and to encourage a more
effective use of educational radio programs. After a brief consideration of the
contributions of auditory aids to teaching and the development of radio in
American schools, the major portion of the book is devoted to the practical
problems of presenting radio programs, selecting and using materials, measuring
the results, broadcasting within the school systems, the use of commercial programs
in schools, the use of recordings, and the matter of public relations in promoting
educational programs. The recent developments of frequency modulation,
television, and facsimile broadcasting receive brief attention in the last chapter.
The book is replete with illustrations and examples of actual broadcasts and the
use of the radio in the classroom. It is one of the most useful books that have come
off the press during recent years and is of great value to all who are interested
in the wider use of the radio in education.   M.H.N.

THE EMPLOYEE IN COOPERATIVE SERVICE STATIONS. A Course
in Fifteen Lessons, with questions and assignments. Prepared by V. S.
Alanne and assistants. Superior, Wisconsin: Cooperative Publishing
Association, 1946, pp. 102.

Sponsored by six large cooperative wholesale associations in the United States,
this is the fourth study guide that has been prepared for students of the Coopera-
tive Correspondence School (Superior, Wisconsin). It gives a wealth of facts
and pointers that employees of cooperative service stations may well study care-
fully. The correspondence lesson device opens the door for every such employee to
become better informed and to make himself more useful as a cooperator and a
citizen.   E.S.B.

THE WORLD'S NEED OF CHRIST. By CHARLES A. ELLWOOD. Nashville:
Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1946 (revised), pp. vi+213.

This special edition is for distribution by the Board of Missions and Church
Extension of the Methodist Church. It has been revised and is being extensively
distributed because of its challenging emphasis amidst the social confusion of our
times.

CATHOLICS AND THE PRACTICE OF THE FAITH: A Census Study of the Diocese of Saint Augustine. By GEORGE A. KELLY. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1946, pp. viii+224.

This is a survey of a sample of 40,473 permanent Catholic residents in Florida in 1944. It includes data on age, sex ratio, marital status, residence, place of birth, migration, educational achievement, and economic composition. The major part of the study is an analysis of the observance of seven Catholic religious practices as seen in such categories of marital status as single, broken homes, Catholic marriages, convert marriages, and mixed marriages. Later chapters of the book analyze religious observances and religion of parents, education, place of birth, residence, and economic status.

The extent of mixed marriages among Catholics is one of the most interesting findings of the survey. Of 11,508 marriages in which one or both mates were Catholics at the time of marriage, slightly over half were between a Catholic and a non-Catholic. The number was reduced to 40 per cent by some of the non-Catholics joining the church of their mates. The author found a higher per cent of divorce among Catholics than he had expected. Of the Catholic sample 1.5 per cent were divorced as contrasted with 2.3 per cent of the population of Florida.

This book is a social survey and not social research. Consequently, the absence of scientific procedures and generalizations is not surprising. The author set out only to secure certain factual information.   H.J.L.

LIVING COSTS IN WORLD WAR II, 1941-1944. By PHILIP MURRAY and R. J. THOMAS. Washington, D.C.: Congress of Industrial Organizations, 1944, pp. 76.

This C.I.O. publication, dated June, 1944, reveals what it cost the worker to live during the period of the recent war. According to C.I.O. statistics, wartime costs of living soared 45.3 per cent. Responsible for this situation were such factors as quality deterioration, disappearance of low-priced items, forced shifts to higher-priced stores, decline in special and week-end sales, and greater increase in rents for furnished rooms. Food costs alone increased over 70 per cent. Criticism of the Bureau of Labor Statistics' index as only a retail-price index instead of a cost-of-living index is pointedly made. The C.I.O. leaders charge the Bureau with having caused a miscarriage of justice to American workers on this score. The document may be considered as an argument for the case of the C.I.O. in the furtherance of strikes for higher wages. It also offers an interesting portrayal of how statistics may be manipulated to make certain situations appear as the manipulators wish. The Bureau of Labor Statistics, says the publication, was interested in not having any strikes for wage adjustments.   M.J.V.

LEARN AND LIVE. By CLARA M. OLSON and NORMAN D. FLETCHER. New York: Alfred P. Sloan Foundation, Inc., 1946, pp. vi+101.

Three experiments were conducted to determine the effectiveness of education to improve the level of living in communities. The Kentucky project was designed to change the food practices of the people. The second project aimed to improve housing in rural Florida. The third was a clothing experiment in Vermont. In each case the effectiveness of the school project was tested by observing changes in the practices of the people in the respective community. A three-way balanced school program is recommended to meet food, housing, and clothing needs. M.H.N.

FAMILIES IN TROUBLE. By Earl Lomon Koos. A Preface by Robert S.
  Lynd. King's Crown Press, Morningside Heights, New York, 1946, pp. 134.

The book reports the results of a case study of sixty-two low income families
living in a given block in New York City and covers the years, 1940-43. Each
of the families had one or more children; 56.5 per cent were native born; 32
fathers were in the age group, 30-40, and 16 in the age group, 40-50; 45 families
had a total weekly income of $22.50 to $32.50; 43 heads of families were laborers;
61 per cent were of the Catholic faith; all of the families had social relationships
with other families, but these varied greatly.

Participation in the study was entirely voluntary. Mr. Koos did not represent
any social work agency. He believes that his success in getting families to talk
about their troubles was due in part to his recognition of the human values
involved in the research situation, to the guarantee of absolute anonymity, and
to his identification with them as he related his own feelings when he was "in a
jam." In the Appendix, "Interviewing in This Study," the author discusses his
own techniques, which are worth the reading time of any research student.
Besides, the social worker might well profit by studying this report, which reveals
the troubles which "the druggist, the bartender, the pawnbroker and Mr.
Koos" were told by the families but which they would not divulge either "to the
relief agent or to the doctor."

Interesting chapters discuss the "Organization of the Families" and their
"Troubles" with their "Solutions." "The Future Need" is particularly defined
in wider publicity of available services for "families in trouble"; in a more
effective program of education for family life, especially in the interests of
adolescents; and in a more "realistic approach" to family troubles which will be
acceptable to the family.

The various techniques used and suggested by Mr. Koos may well be
emphasized in the professional services of the trained social worker. They are
not new, but they are not invariably employed in social work institutions and
agencies.   B.A.McC.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

COMMON HUMAN NEEDS. An Interpretation for Staff in Public Assistance
  Agencies. Prepared by Charlotte Towle. Washington, D.C.: Federal
  Security Agency, Social Security Board, Bureau of Public Assistance,
  Bulletin No. 8, 1945, pp. 132.

SOCIAL RESEARCH ON HEALTH. By Otis Durant Duncan and others.
  New York: Social Research Council, 1946, pp. 212.

THE RURAL SOUTH. A Reading Guide for Community Leaders. Edited
  by H. C. Brearley and Marian Tippit. Nashville: The Southern Rural
  Life Council, George Peabody College for Teachers, 1946, pp. 86.

SYNTHESIS IN EDUCATION. Edited by Miss D. M. E. Dymes. Albert
  Road, Malvern, England: Le Play House Press, 1946, pp. 80.

THE ABC's OF MODERN JAPAN. By Wilson Morris. New York: Ameri-
  can Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1946, pp. 63.

HISTORY OF LEGISLATION AND POLICY FORMATION OF THE
  CENTRAL VALLEY PROJECT. By Mary Montgomery and Marion
  Clawson. Berkeley, California: University of California, and the
  Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the United States Department of
  Agriculture, 1946, pp. 276.

TREATMENT OF ASIA IN AMERICAN TEXTBOOKS. Prepared under
the direction of the Committee on Asiatic Studies, American Council on
Education, and the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations,
Howard E. Wilson, Coordinator and Editor, 1946, pp. 104. Pamphlet.

The analysis of 108 textbooks in geography, world history, American history,
civics, and modern problems, now used in elementary, junior high, and senior
high schools, revealed that only a small fraction of space is devoted to
the Far East.

SOCIAL DRAMA

DEEP ARE THE ROOTS. A Play in Three Acts. By Arnaud d'Usseau and
James Gow. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1945, pp. xxvi+205.

One of the distinctive features of the printed edition of this play is its preface, in
which may be found a thoroughly sound and seriously expressed opinion of the
social function of drama. Say the authors in comparing the movies with the
stage, ". . . there is one dimension of the drama in which Hollywood today cannot
compete. This is a 'fourth dimension' having nothing to do with form. It is
depth of perception. Perception of human character, perception of life itself. Here
lies the only direction in which the stage can expand, grow and flourish." In like
vein, they defend the dramatist who in attempting to create vitality for the
theater refuses to portray the typical situation. Because the people in the world
are all unique in a sense and the forces that they bring into being are something
special, the alert author, aware of this, will cause his play to be a revelation that
can be achieved only by a dramatization of the special, the exceptional, the highly
specific. If it be the exceptional and the specific in the form of a person or
situation whereby social changes ensue, their position is substantially correct. The
preface is offered as an apology for their play, the central theme of which is
prejudice.

The play itself is an earnest, sincere attempt to reveal the cruelty and irrational-
ity of people who are infected with the virus of racial prejudice. It asks in
innuendo form whether or not one "prefers a world of racial superiority with the
cruelties and dishonesties which such a world ultimately imposes," or whether one
would "like some changes made." The action centers about a Negro war hero,
Lieutenant Brett Charles, who returns to his home in a small Southern town only
to find that the war has had no mellowing effects upon the old prejudice toward
the Negro. Neither has Senator Langdon become impressed with the service that
the Negro soldier rendered the cause of his country. The Senator's younger
daughter, Genevra, once a childhood playmate of Brett, sees things differently.
Her affection for Brett almost brings him disaster. The community is both
shocked and deeply stirred when it learns that the Negro soldier has had the
effrontery to walk at night with a white girl. Both Genevra and Brett realize
that romance for them is impossible.

While the drama thus indirectly suggests racial intermarriage, the authors aver
that they are neither attacking nor advocating it but definitely stating that people
who love each other have the right to decide for themselves, "marriage being a
very personal business." Here, they are not on very stable ground, missing the
point that society has insisted upon protecting itself for hundreds of years in the
form of marriage taboos and legislation. If their postulate were true, thousands
of bad marriages might have filled the world with more misfits than it has.
Despite this, the drama remains a stirring indictment against racial prejudice.

M.J.V.